APRIL 18, 2016

TIME

Likable Enough?

Not so fast, Donald.
Ted Cruz has a plan

By Michael Scherer

time.com

TIME
VOL. 187, NO. 14 | 2016

Cover Story

Cruzing for a Bruising

The GOP appears headed for a cataclysmic fight at its convention this summer. Ted Cruz has a plan to emerge victorious

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CHAPMAN: JESSE BURKE FOR TIME; GYLLENHAAL: FOX

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What you said about ...

YOUNG MEN AND PORN "Thank you for presenting the evidence that Internet porn has damaged the most important sex organ: the brain," wrote family therapist Timothy Teague of Waterford, Va., about Belinda Luscombe's April 11 cover story, which explored the effects of Internet porn on the sex drives of young men. Another marriage and family therapist, Charles Baum of Santa Cruz, Calif., echoed that point: Though "social conservatives" rail against "abortion, homosexuality [and] gay marriage," he wrote, "I can attest that online porn and gambling cause much more harm to individuals, couples and families."

> 'Thanks for being so brave as to start what will hopefully be an ongoing conversation.'
>
> NANCY GORMLEY, Bonita Springs, Fla.

"A war zone, indeed," added Katie Deolloz of Luscombe's description of the fraught topic. "Will be sharing with my teen son." However, Heather Colletto of Grand Rapids, Mich., saw a certain irony in the story's focus: "Decades of oppressing and degrading women through porn is finally being discussed because men are now having trouble getting an erection? Sigh. Whatever it takes, I guess."

THE G-MAN Massimo Calabresi's reporting on FBI Director James Comey's investigation into Hillary Clinton's emails, which appeared in the April 11 issue and on TIME.com, prompted outrage from reader Lenore Alpert of Pompano Beach, Fla., who called the probe a "political witch hunt." TIME's article, she wrote, was "one-sided" for not highlighting points that might make Clinton's decision seem less newsworthy, such as the "private email use by other Secretaries of State." But Michele Yendall of Towson, Md., disagreed, noting that the controversy has been dubbed "an email issue" when, in her view, "it is the private server that indicates an effort to obstruct anyone from knowing the goings-on of the Secretary of State."

Back in TIME

April 8, 1966

IS GOD DEAD?

To mark the 50th anniversary of the iconic cover story, TIME History takes a look back at the article's fallout among its subjects and its echoes in the world of theology, which continue to this day. Read more at **time.com/IsGodDead**

THE NEWS As the most radical of them proclaimed God's death, religious thinkers were confronting a world in which the presence of a higher power was no longer assumed.

THE STORY But after extensive research and reporting, it became clear that for many, faith was still very much alive.

THE COVER Although TIME had commissioned original artwork by Larry Rivers, it opted instead for its first all-text cover.

THE REACTION Nearly 3,500 readers wrote in, with letters that ranged from concise ("Yes" and "No") to ferocious ("Your ugly cover is a blasphemous outrage").

IN PERSPECTIVE According to the story, 97% of Americans polled in 1965 believed in God. In 2014, Pew found that only 63% of respondents were absolutely certain about it. (An additional 20% were "fairly certain.") —LILY ROTHMAN

BONUS *TIME* **HEALTH**

Subscribe to TIME's health newsletter and get a **weekly email full of news and advice to keep you well.** For more, visit **time.com/email**

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT ▸ In "Porn and the Threat to Virility" (April 11), we misstated the address of Noah Church's counseling website. It is addictedtointernetporn.com. In the same story, we inaccurately described Reboot Nation founder Gabriel Deem's sources of income. He does not get paid for speaking.

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‘I always think it’s going in, and this was no different.’

KRIS JENKINS, Villanova basketball star, after his buzzer-beating three-pointer lifted his team over North Carolina in the NCAA championship game

Tesla
The carmaker had 276,000 preorders for its new sedan in 72 hours

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

Disney
A top executive resigned, throwing succession plans into disarray

‘WE’VE PROVEN OUR WORTH.’

CARLI LLOYD, U.S. women’s soccer midfielder, joining four other stars in a federal complaint against U.S. Soccer alleging wage discrimination because they earn less than male players

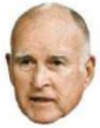
13

Number of **dead chickens** a Rhode Island man hung outside his home, prompting complaints from a neighbor; he told police he was just drying them out before disposing of them

4

Number of beef patties in the new **“Giga” Big Mac,** to be served at McDonald’s in Japan; the fast-food chain said the massive burger is “meant to be shared”

‘I’M HOPING THAT WHAT HAPPENS IN CALIFORNIA WILL NOT STAY IN CALIFORNIA.’



JERRY BROWN, California governor, before signing legislation that will raise the state’s minimum wage to $15 per hour, the highest in the U.S. along with that in New York, which enacted similar legislation the same day

‘The main target of such attacks is our President.’

DMITRY PESKOV, spokesman for Russian President Vladimir Putin, denying that Putin has any ties to a web of tax havens exposed by the so-called Panama Papers; the massive leak documented how world leaders and tycoons, including allies of Putin, allegedly stash billions in offshore accounts

51 **Length in feet (15.5 m) of a giant inflatable joint carried outside the White House in a protest by advocates of marijuana legalization**

‘We’re still working on that.’

JAMES BAKER, general counsel for the FBI, when asked if data retrieved from the San Bernardino, Calif., shooter’s iPhone has proved useful to investigators; the FBI cracked the device with help from an unidentified third party amid a legal battle with Apple

SOURCES: NEW YORK TIMES; PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER; TODAY

JENKINS: LLOYD: BROWN: GETTY IMAGES. GOOD WEEK: TESLA. BAD WEEK: ALAMY. ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

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ACP

The Brief

'THE KIND OF ARCHITECTURE ZAHA DID WAS NOT SOUGHT AFTER A LOT, AND THEN SHE MADE IT SOUGHT AFTER.' —PAGE 16

Icelanders call for the resignation of Prime Minister Sigmundur Gunnlaugsson in Reykjavík on April 4

REUTERS

PHOTOGRAPH BY STIGTRYGGUR JOHANNSSON

ECONOMY

The Panama Papers expose the secret world of the 1%

By Rana Foroohar and Matt Vella

SOMETIMES, QUANTITY HAS A quality all its own.

Even in a decade marked by massively consequential leaks, the so-called Panama Papers set a new standard for epic disclosures when they came to light on April 3. The confidential records—2.6 terabytes of data, or more than 11.5 million documents—leaked from Panama's Mossack Fonseca by an anonymous source appear to show how the law firm, with branches around the globe, helped heads of state, oligarchs and celebrities launder money, dodge sanctions and avoid taxes. This cache is far larger than the intelligence records revealed by Edward Snowden three years ago or the U.S. diplomatic cables made public by WikiLeaks in 2010.

The papers, acquired by the German newspaper *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and the subject of a yearlong investigation led by the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, include financial records, passports and correspondence stretching back 40 years, detailing 214,000 offshore shell companies in 200 countries. These implicate a range of individuals, including the family of Syrian President Bashar Assad, British Prime Minister David Cameron's late father, several of Russian President Vladimir Putin's court favorites and Icelandic Prime Minister Sigmundur Gunnlaugsson, who was forced out of office at least temporarily on April 5. Not to mention financial giants UBS, HSBC and Société Générale. Mossack's clients were the 1% personified.

While just being named in the papers isn't evidence of illegality—

LEADERS LINKED TO THE LEAK

EUROPE
Iceland's Sigmundur Gunnlaugsson stepped aside after being linked to an offshore firm. The U.K.'s David Cameron faced calls for an investigation.

RUSSIA
President Vladimir Putin wasn't personally named in the leak, but many members of his inner circle were implicated. The Kremlin dismissed the claims.

ASIA
The brother-in-law of Chinese President Xi Jinping was named, as well as relatives of Pakistan's Nawaz Sharif and Malaysia's Najib Razak.

MIDDLE EAST
Saudi Arabia's King Salman and UAE President Sheik Khalifa showed up in the leak, as well as cousins of Syrian President Bashar Assad.

AFRICA
The leaked data named relatives of South African President Jacob Zuma, ex-Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and late former Guinean leader Lansana Conté.

AMERICAS
Argentine President Mauricio Macri was accused of failing to declare ties to a Bahamian firm, and an associate of Mexico's Enrique Peña Nieto was named.

offshore accounts aren't of themselves against the law—the revelations will reinforce the anger of the growing number of people who believe the world's political leaders, business tycoons and ultra-wealthy have co-opted systems designed to lift everybody up—democracy, capitalism, free markets.

It's also only the tip of the iceberg. "The size of the leak is unprecedented, but the tricks Mossack Fonseca has allegedly used for its clients are neither new nor surprising," says Heather Lowe, director of government affairs for Global Financial Integrity, a Washington-based nonprofit consultancy. "Anonymous shell companies and the failure of governments to require lawyers, corporate-service companies or banks to collect beneficial-ownership information on clients leave the door wide open for dirty money to flow around the globe virtually unhindered."

In the U.S., the impact is sure to be felt at the ballot box. Many American voters already feel on a gut level that global capitalism is working mainly for the 1%, not the 99%. This has fueled the candidacies of both the socialist Bernie Sanders and the billionaire Donald Trump. But the Panama Papers go beyond gut feelings to illuminate a key aspect of why the system isn't working—namely that globalization has allowed the capital and assets of the rich to travel more freely than those of everyone else. The result is rampant tax avoidance, labor offshoring and a class of elites that flies 35,000 feet over the problems of nations and their taxpayers. "The 1% can move anywhere they want and profit handsomely from the relocation," says Peter Atwater, a behavioral economist. "But the 99% are left with the aftermath—the empty buildings of a deserted Detroit, the toxic waste from chemical plants in West Virginia or the unsustainable tax liabilities of Puerto Rico."

The effects of that aftermath are profound. Global Financial Integrity recently found that developing and emerging economies lost $7.8 trillion in cash from 2004 to 2013 because of maneuvers like those allegedly perfected by Mossack. Illicit outflows are increasing at a rate of 6.5% a year, twice the rate of global GDP growth. Most emerging markets are slowing and may help tip the global economy back into recession by year's end. "Hunger," wrote the great historian Thomas Carlyle, "whets everything, especially suspicion and indignation."

What comes next? Many think nothing less than a total re-evaluation of how the market works—and where it is failing. That's already beginning; new rules released by the U.S. Treasury on April 4 crack down on American corporations that allow themselves to be acquired by foreign firms to avoid U.S. taxes. Thanks to the Panama Papers, the outrageous ease with which financial capital can move around the world—and who that hurts—can be ignored no longer. —*With reporting by* MELISSA CHAN/NEW YORK *and* RISHI IYENGAR/HONG KONG

TRENDING

LAWS
Mississippi's Republican Governor Phil Bryant signed into law April 5 **a bill that allows businesses to refuse service to LGBT customers** on the basis of religious beliefs, the same day PayPal canceled a 400-job expansion in North Carolina to protest a similar measure.

MIGRANTS
The Greek government said **Pope Francis would visit the country in April,** including a trip to the island of Lesbos, where thousands of migrants are stranded. The news, unconfirmed by the Vatican, came as Greece began deporting migrants to Turkey under an E.U. agreement.

BUSINESS
U.S. drugmaker Pfizer and Dublin-based Allergan **called off a record $152 billion merger** after the U.S. Treasury announced new rules aimed at stopping so-called inversion deals, in which U.S. firms merge with foreign ones to pay less in corporate taxes.

XI: SALMAN; LAWS: AP; GUNNLAUGSSON; PUTIN; ZUMA; MIGRANTS; BUSINESS: GETTY IMAGES; MACRI: REUTERS; ENERGY: ALI JAREKJI—GETTY IMAGES

RITE OF SPRING A couple reclines under sakura boughs, taking part in the *hanami* flower-viewing in Tokyo's Shinjuku Gyoen National Garden on April 6 as the blossoming period neared its end. For centuries, people in Japan have celebrated the roughly two weeks each year between the first bud's opening and the last petal's falling by gathering for picnics or outdoor parties. *Photograph by David Mareuil—Anadolu Agency/Getty Images*

ENERGY

Saudi Arabia's attempt to break its addiction to oil

ON APRIL 1, SAUDI ARABIA'S DEPUTY CROWN Prince Mohammed bin Salman revealed in a Bloomberg interview how he would float part of the kingdom's state oil company, Aramco, to create the world's largest sovereign wealth fund, in a bid to reform an economy built largely on oil exports. "The objective," he said, "is to diversify income." Will it work?

INVESTORS WANTED Aramco plans to begin selling off a small percentage of shares as early as 2017, with the anticipated revenues turning its Public Investment Fund into a $2 trillion superfund big enough to buy the world's four largest firms—Apple, Alphabet, Microsoft and Berkshire Hathaway—with money to spare.

Aramco is the world's biggest oil producer

DETAILS MISSING Aramco's IPO won't include the kingdom's strategic oil reserves, and it's unclear precisely what assets investors will be putting their money into; the deputy crown prince said it might include a solar-energy plant or a construction company under Aramco's name. Potential shareholders will want more information—but the kingdom isn't exactly known for its transparency.

REFORMS NEEDED Analysts say the share offering is a positive step but more needs to be done to truly diversify Saudi Arabia's economy. A recent McKinsey report advised the kingdom to create a more open market for foreign companies, to be more transparent about state spending and to boost its labor-participation rate, currently at 41%. But all of that would require a cultural shift as well as an economic one. —TARA JOHN

DATA

OUR WIDENING WORLD

The number of obese people globally has increased sixfold in 40 years, to 641 million, according to a new study in the *Lancet*. Here is a sampling of male obesity rates around the world:

48.7%
French Polynesia

33.6%
U.S.

22%
France

19.6%
Russia

3.7%
Japan

TRENDING

PARENTING
San Francisco became the first U.S. city to approve **six weeks of leave with full pay for new parents,** including same-sex couples with adopted children. A state insurance program already covers 55% of workers' pay; the new law requires employers to cover the difference.

POLITICS
South African President Jacob Zuma **survived an impeachment vote** on April 5 when his African National Congress party rejected the motion. A court found earlier that Zuma had violated the constitution by ignoring an order to repay state funds used to renovate his home.

FASHION
Scottish-born Rabbi Mendel Jacobs **unveiled the first kosher Jewish tartan** registered with Scottish authorities. The plaid, made without linen to avoid rabbinic prohibitions on mixed garments, is made up of colors from the Israeli and Scottish flags.

THE RISK REPORT

Xi Jinping's thin skin makes him look weak

By Ian Bremmer

CHINESE PRESIDENT XI JINPING TAKES A zero-tolerance approach to bad press. Maybe he believes that the complexity and historic stakes involved in his sweeping economic-reform plan demand the assertion of absolute moral authority. Or maybe he's just very sensitive. Either way, the Panama Papers, which detail allegations that senior Chinese leaders, including a member of Xi's family, have engaged in offshore deals worth millions, were bound to provoke fury in Beijing.

Xi has never welcomed criticism. In 2012, a Bloomberg story on his family's wealth and business connections led to China's denying all visa requests from Bloomberg, just as it would do to the New York *Times* after a story on the wealth of those close to ex-Premier Wen Jiabao. Every news group outside China must weigh the risk that an unflattering story about the leadership, particularly one that involves ill-gotten gains, will end its access to the world's soon-to-be largest economy.

The President has also faced criticism inside China. Last month, an anonymous letter calling for his resignation was somehow published on a government-affiliated website. Official media have complained openly of censorship. Recently, stories have emerged of disappearing journalists and their intimidated families. This is all at a time when critics warn that Xi has amassed too much power and is building a cult of personality.

China's latest embarrassment comes as other emerging world leaders are fending off corruption charges and fighting for their political lives. Fallout from a massive bribery scandal will probably force Brazil's Dilma Rousseff from power. Malaysia's Najib Razak has tried to explain that hundreds of millions deposited into his bank account by a Saudi royal were merely a gift. South Africa's Jacob Zuma says a swimming pool and millions of dollars in other upgrades to his home were intended to enhance its security.

> Any public blow to Xi's authority will make it more difficult for him to sweep away corruption

The Panama Papers appear to show that current and former members of Britain's Conservative Party, including Prime Minister David Cameron's late father, have shielded wealth in offshore accounts. They also suggest that some of Vladimir Putin's closest friends have become filthy rich in murky ways.

But China is different because of its growing importance for the entire global economy. Any public blow to Xi's authority will make it more difficult for him to sweep away corruption and advance much-needed economic reforms. Draconian retaliation against unflattering press or internal critics, however, doesn't project self-confidence. Attempts to exempt top leaders from criticism make the regime look brittle. China's growth and the party's grip are strong enough that it won't matter in 2016, but a sharper slowdown in the future will test Xi's authority as never before. □

HEALTH

The case for whole milk

Dairy is heavy on fat, which is why doctors have steered us toward its skim or low-fat versions. But there's fresh evidence that full-fat milk, cheese and yogurt can be better for you than low-fat. —*Alice Park*

LOWERS DIABETES
A new study found full-fat dairy products reduced the risk of diabetes by 46% compared with skim, possibly because whole dairy can help people eat less or improve blood-sugar control.

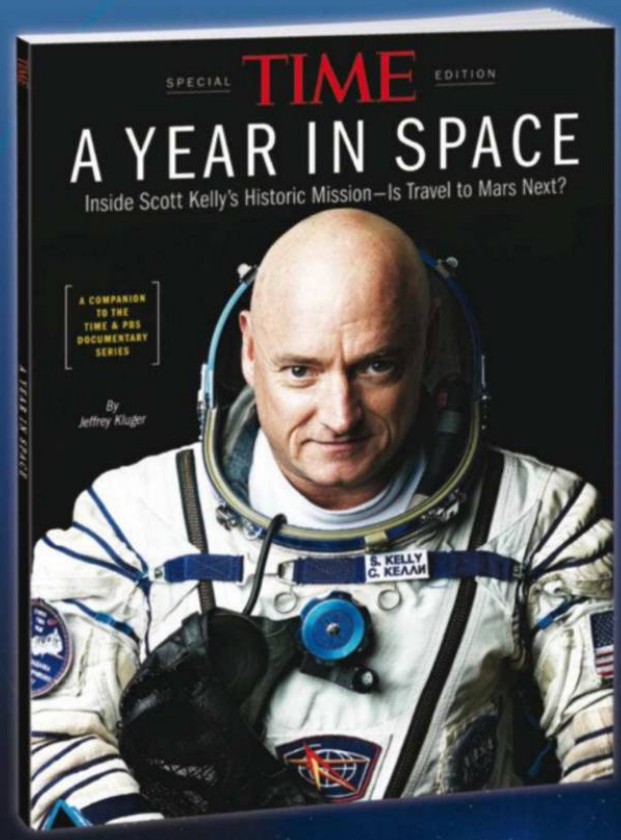
REDUCES WEIGHT
When people switch to skim to avoid fat and calories, they tend to replace those calories with carbohydrates, which are more likely to be stored as fat and can contribute to weight gain.

CUTS HEART RISK
Some studies show people who eat skim or low-fat dairy may have higher rates of heart disease than people opting for full-fat varieties, possibly because they're eating more carbs.

PARENTING: AP; POLITICS: REUTERS; FASHION: MENDEL JACOBS; HEALTH: GETTY IMAGES

At Home Above the World

Spend a year inside the International Space Station with Scott Kelly in this all-new Special Edition as he chronicles his historic year in space.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Milestones

ANNOUNCED
By the U.S. Department of Labor, a **significant new rule** requiring financial advisers to act in their clients' best interests.

› By Alaska Airlines, that **it will acquire Virgin America,** in a deal worth about $4 billion, following a bidding war with JetBlue.

WON
A record-setting **fourth consecutive NCAA women's basketball championship,** by the University of Connecticut, in an 82-51 victory over Syracuse.

REJECTED
By the U.S. Supreme Court, a **challenge to the one-person, one-vote standard** of states' drawing legislative districts based on total population rather than just eligible voters.

DIED
Joseph Medicine Crow, 102, Native American historian, World War II veteran and 2009 Presidential Medal of Freedom recipient, known as the last living war chief of Montana's Crow Tribe.

› **Ronnie Corbett,** 85, comedian and co-star of the British TV show *The Two Ronnies.*

Hadid died on March 31 at 65

DIED

Zaha Hadid
Trailblazing architect

By Frank Gehry

I MET ZAHA HADID WHEN SHE WAS JUST STARTING out. She was always one of the guys, undaunted by all the challenges women face in the architecture field, and very confident.

I was part of a group that helped Zaha get one of her first commissions, the Vitra Fire Station in Germany. She did an extraordinary job with it—everybody was impressed, and she took off. She created a language that's unique to her. I suppose it will be copied, but never the way she did it. The kind of architecture Zaha did was not sought after a lot, and then she made it sought after. She created the niche.

The last building of Zaha's that really knocked my socks off was her Aquatics Centre for the 2012 London Olympics, which we attended together. We sat together and took it all in, form and function. I told her it was so beautiful and fit so nicely, and I thought it was right on the money, perfect.

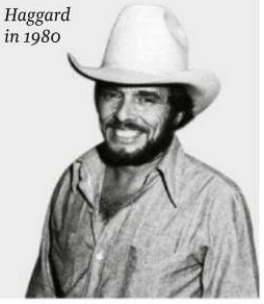
She just smiled a knowing smile.

Gehry is an acclaimed contemporary architect

DIED

Merle Haggard
Bard of Bakersfield

IN 1969, WHEN HIS SONG "Okie from Muskogee" made Merle Haggard a household name, he was only about a decade out of San Quentin State Prison. It was there that Haggard, who died April 6 on his 79th birthday, decided to end his career of ever-less-petty crime, a move that set him on a path to become one of the boldest voices in country music. But he never lost the connection with his youth, nor the remarkable empathy that was perhaps its consequence. Brought up in a converted train car near Bakersfield, Calif., he knew hard times. He also knew how to turn his keen observations into what he called, in a 1974 TIME cover story, "journalism put to music." His catalog reached far beyond the antihippie backlash he spoke to in "Okie," capturing decades' worth of the nation's fears and hopes—economic, romantic, familial, political. He sang the song of all-American struggle, and that special all-American something that made the struggle worthwhile. —LILY ROTHMAN



Haggard in 1980

HADID: MARCO GROB FOR TIME; TRUNK ARCHIVE: HAGGARD: GETTY IMAGES

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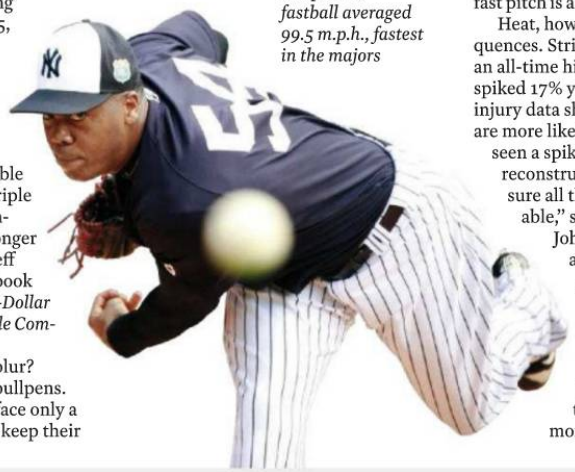
A major league arms race: fastballs keep getting faster

By Sean Gregory

FOR MUCH OF MAJOR LEAGUE BASEball's history, even the hardest-throwing pitchers rarely threw faster than 100 m.p.h. Those who did were accorded a certain fearful respect, like the villain entering an Old West saloon. But over the past decade, more pitchers have been coming closer to triple digits than ever before. Among pitchers who threw at least 40 innings in 2005, 11 averaged 95 m.p.h. or more, according to FanGraphs.com. By 2015, the 95-m.p.h. club nearly quintupled: 54 pitchers averaged at least that speed. And last season, two dozen pitchers hit the 100-m.p.h. mark at least once—more than double the number who reached triple digits back in 2008. "A hundred miles per hour is no longer a mythical number," says Jeff Passan, author of the new book *The Arm: Inside the Billion-Dollar Mystery of the Most Valuable Commodity in Sports*.

Why is baseball now a blur? One reason is specialized bullpens. Relief pitchers now often face only a batter or two, which helps keep their arms fresh. This has coincided with a revolution in training. Innovations like 3-D analysis help young pitchers improve mechanics, while more-scientific approaches to conditioning and nutrition have made them stronger. "The propeller-heads running sports now know if you do this and this with your movement, and this and this with your strength training, you can get to 100 m.p.h.," says pitching guru Tom House, whose pupils have included Hall of Fame fireballers Randy Johnson and Nolan Ryan.



In 2015, Aroldis Chapman's fastball averaged 99.5 m.p.h., fastest in the majors

These days, the race to 100 starts young. Radar guns blanket youth baseball showcase events, where clocking a fast pitch is a surefire way to get noticed.

Heat, however, can have its consequences. Strikeouts per game reached an all-time high in '15, while home runs spiked 17% year over year. Meanwhile, injury data shows that harder throwers are more likely to get hurt. Baseball has seen a spike in "Tommy John" elbow-reconstruction surgeries. "I'm not sure all this high velocity is sustainable," says Hall of Fame hurler John Smoltz, a Fox Sports analyst. "Too many guys are going all out, all the time."

Either advances in training and medicine will keep more big arms healthy—or more kids will flame out. In the meantime, prepare for more of the high cheese. □

CHAPMAN: KIM KLEMENT—USA TODAY SPORTS/REUTERS; COLLINS: AP; FANS: GETTY IMAGES; ROYALS: REUTERS

THREE STORIES TO WATCH IN 2016

OLD GUYS RULE

Experience counts in the dugout. Each league's oldest manager—Terry Collins, 66, of the New York Mets *(above)* and Ned Yost, 61, of the Kansas City Royals—reached the 2015 World Series. Meanwhile, the talent-packed Washington Nationals turned to veteran skipper Dusty Baker, 66, for a revival.

WAIT 'TIL NEXT THIS YEAR

Yes, it really could happen. The Chicago Cubs added impact players like Jason Heyward and Ben Zobrist to a lineup that already boasted an MVP candidate (Anthony Rizzo) and a young phenom (Kris Bryant). It may be enough firepower to end a 108-year World Series drought—and banish that billy goat for good.

ROYAL REPEAT?

The last team to win consecutive World Series titles: the New York Yankees, who won three straight from 1998 to 2000. But with speedy defensive stars like center fielder Lorenzo Cain *(above, lower right)* and the most feared bullpen in baseball, bet against Kansas City and its stellar fielding at your own risk.

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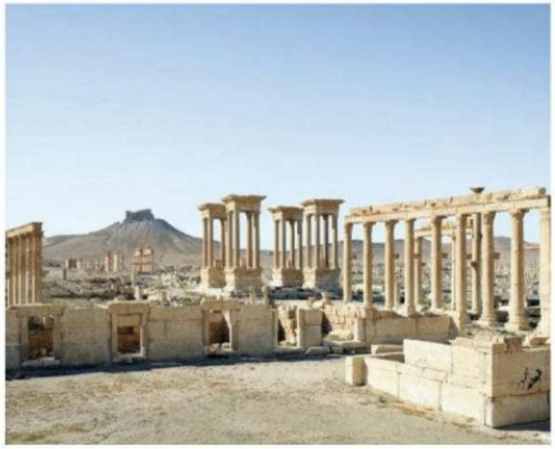

ARCHAEOLOGY

The damaged ruins of Palmyra underscore the cultural cost of Syria's war

THE ANCIENT TEMPLE OF BEL STOOD for nearly 2,000 years among the sunbaked ruins of the Syrian city of Palmyra. Dedicated in A.D. 32, the shrine was one of the most important remnants of classical-era Palmyra, a city that at its height was a key trading point on the eastern edges of the Roman Empire. As late as the 20th century, modern Syrians lived and worked in the shadow of the temple, until French colonial authorities cleared them out in order to excavate the ruins.

Now much of the temple is gone. ISIS militants conquered Palmyra last May, and in August they used explosives to demolish most of the Temple of Bel, leaving only one stone doorway standing. The jihadists adhere to a puritanical brand of Islam that regards the ancient temples as examples of idolatry to be destroyed. ISIS fighters also razed the nearby Temple of Baalshamin. Earlier in the summer, they took hammers to a series of statues looted from Palmyra. And they beheaded Khaled al-Asaad, the octogenarian Syrian antiquities scholar who had helped preserve the site.

Troops loyal to the government of President Bashar Assad swept back into Palmyra in late March, wresting the city from the jihadists. Since then, a handful of journalists have gained access to the site—including photographer Lorenzo Meloni, whose work is seen here.

While many of the ruins remain intact, the destruction of key monuments reveals a silent cost of the five-year-old civil war. All six of Syria's UNESCO World Heritage Sites have been damaged—and not only by jihadists.

There was damage done during the war to the monuments in Palmyra before ISIS conquered it. In March 2014, the government reportedly bombed the Krak des Chevaliers, a 12th century crusader castle west of Homs, in order to dislodge rebel fighters. In April 2013, the 11th century minaret of the grand mosque in the city of Aleppo was destroyed. These structures withstood the rise and fall of empires, only to be leveled in this very postmodern war.

—JARED MALSIN

In photos taken on April 1, days after ISIS was driven out, Syrian soldiers inspect freshly broken columns at the Temple of Bel, opposite page, top right, and this page, top right. Bottom far left: a defaced statue. Bottom far right: a captured ISIS flag in the modern city, which stands below the ruins

PHOTOGRAPHS BY LORENZO MELONI—MAGNUM PHOTOS

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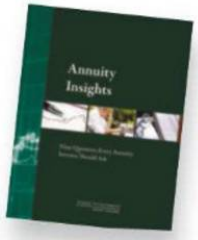

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The View

'ONE HAS TO WONDER ABOUT THE LEVEL OF GRIFT IN TRUMP'S VOWS TO PROTECT MAIN STREET.' —PAGE 26

TECHNOLOGY

What VR's rocky past reveals about its future

By Lev Grossman

THE FIRST VERSION OF THE Gettysburg Cyclorama was created in 1883 by a French artist named Paul Dominique Philippoteaux. It was an enormous circular painting, depicting the Battle of Gettysburg at the moment of Pickett's Charge, that wrapped around the viewer completely: you stood inside it. It was 22 ft. high and had a circumference of 279 ft.

The effect was enhanced by actual earthworks and broken trees and fences set up in front of it, in the foreground, which also hid the bottom edge of the canvas. Audiences were enthralled. Veterans of the battle wept. It may have been the most immersive media experience of its day. "I never before had an idea that the eye could be so deceived by paint and canvas," said General John Gibbon, who led a division at Gettysburg. "It was difficult to disabuse my mind of the impression that I was actually on the ground."

The Gettysburg Cyclorama wasn't the first of its kind. In the late 1800s there was a bit of a craze for cycloramas—they represented a step forward from the panorama, which was a large painting that was gradually unscrolled in front of the viewer, left to right. They were the expression of an enduring human ambition, one that has always hovered teasingly just out of reach: to create a work of art without a frame, that encompasses the audience's entire sensorium, replacing reality with illusion like a waking dream. We've renamed this old idea virtual reality, and it's getting new life in a cluster of impressive consumer-technology releases: Oculus Rift, which went on sale March 28, and the HTC Vive, out April 5, as well as Sony's PlayStation VR, scheduled for this fall.

Most earlier attempts at virtual reality had something in common: they died. They were novelties—they didn't stick as serious media. No one paints panoramas or

PHOTO-ILLUSTRATION BY MILES ALDRIDGE FOR TIME

cycloramas anymore. The stereoscope—which created the illusion of depth using two slightly offset images—is largely gone, though it has an honorable afterlife as the Mattel View-Master. Gone is the Sensorama, invented in 1962, which incorporated 3-D video, stereo sound, wind and smells. (The less said of Smell-o-Vision and AromaRama the better.) The closest thing to a successful immersive mass medium right now is Imax, of which there are about 1,000 locations around the world.

What killed them? And will it kill Oculus and the Vive too? One culprit was cost: people complain about the heavy system requirements for Rift and Vive, but to run a cyclorama you had to build an entire building to house it. Another problem was a lack of content—it's tough to get talented creators to sign on to an untested medium.The hardware required to capture and subdue the human senses has also tended to be fatally cumbersome. In 1968 scientists at MIT's Lincoln Laboratory built a groundbreaking head-mounted display, but it was so heavy it had to be suspended from the ceiling over the user, which earned it the nickname "the Sword of Damocles."

Vive and Oculus aren't nearly that awkward, but you can't quite ignore them either. Both headsets weigh about a pound, enough that you feel them on the bridge of your nose, and they leave an after-imprint on your face. Putting one on requires a gut-check moment: when you enter virtual reality you leave your body behind in the real world in a state of significantly diminished dignity. They've cracked the content problem—game developers and Hollywood are scrambling to fill the void—but they're not cheap: $599 for the Oculus and $799 for the Vive, not even counting the exceptionally powerful PC you need to deliver the high frame-rates (90 per sec.) that virtual reality requires.

That said, they do deliver something genuinely new: a qualitatively different kind of illusion that leaves you with only the barest tactile toehold in reality. They create a sense of "presence" (it's become a term of art in VR) in a synthetic world that would have made Philippoteaux snap his paintbrush in envy. The frame is finally gone for good.

Now the key to VR's survival is whether it can become not just fun, but necessary. Everybody liked the cyclorama, but people like a lot of things, and most of them are cheaper than VR and don't involve strapping a headset to your face. What remains to be seen is how well VR can deliver non-fun, nonoptional experiences: social connections (that's why Facebook bought Oculus Rift for $2 billion two years ago) and productivity applications. When your boss makes it mandatory, when your family demands it, that's when VR will go from a novelty to genuine mass medium. It's great to be wanted. What VR needs now is to be needed. ◻

HARDWARE

Which new 'reality' reigns supreme?

VIRTUAL REALITY IS STILL AN unfamiliar experience for most. That could change this year as headsets—like the Oculus Rift and HTC Vive *(below)*—designed to bring immersive VR to the mainstream go on sale. Though all VR devices require strapping a box outfitted with a screen to your face, each takes a slightly different approach to convincing you that you're elsewhere.

The Oculus Rift, for instance, focuses on sitting or standing experiences that let users look around them in any direction. The device achieves this with a camera sensor that sits on your desk and tracks the headset's position. The Rift can convincingly re-create experiences such as being on a tall building or being trapped in close quarters with a *Tyrannosaurus rex*. For the moment, navigating these new worlds entails a game pad identical to those used by traditional consoles.

The Vive, by comparison, allows users to walk around virtual environments and replicates the experience of touching or holding objects. It can be startling, disconcerting, joyful. This added sense of depth costs considerably more and requires a lot of hardware, including two wand-like touch controllers and laser-emitting boxes to track movement that must be mounted in the corners of a room.

Depending on the budget, either the Rift or Vive would provide ample entertainment for anybody curious about virtual reality. But both require another big-ticket item: a high-end personal computer. Oculus and HTC have partnerships with PC makers that offer such machines for prices starting around $1,000. —LISA EADICICCO

HEADSET VS. HEADSET

OCULUS RIFT	HTC VIVE
Price $599 for a headset, sensor, Xbox One remote, Oculus remote and all necessary cables	**Price** $799 for a headset, two base stations, link box, motion controllers and all necessary cables
Apps 50 at launch, mostly games	**Apps** 50 at launch, mostly games
Experience Standing and sitting VR experiences (touch-sensing controllers coming later this year)	**Experience** Standing, sitting and full-motion VR experiences

To see what other artists created for TIME, go to **time.com/tiltbrush**

EXPLORE NEW WORLDS
In Lucky's Tale, *users interact with virtual characters as they navigate a* Super Mario*–like setting*

MAKE NEXT-GEN ART
Tilt Brush *enables artists like illustrator Tim O'Brien (whose work is above) to paint in 3-D*

SOFTWARE

The weirdest, coolest things you can do with VR

IN ONE, YOU'RE TRAPPED IN A ROOM with a ticking bomb you have no idea how to defuse. In another, you can whip up compact-disc-and-carrot smoothies. In a third, your arm becomes a painter's brush wielding chromatic light. The first batch of mainstream virtual-reality software and games marries the irreverent and the sublime. At best, this may change your perspective on the impossible.

Consider *Lucky's Tale* for the Oculus Rift, a run-and-jump game bundled with the headset that, at first blush, looks a lot like a 3-D *Super Mario*. But slipping your eyes behind the headset's contoured foam transforms *Lucky's Tale* into a vibrant, lifelike diorama. Lean down to scrutinize the game's charming hero fox and he'll notice you looking, reacting to your presence in a world you can perceive in uncanny detail simply by shifting your head. It's this relationship between where you turn and what you see that finally overwhelms your brain's logic centers, completely immersing you in a dazzling carnival of images.

Keep Talking and Nobody Explodes, a $15 Rift launch title, is something completely different and for which virtual reality feels essential. You find yourself in a tiny room with a ticking bomb you have mere minutes to defuse. Your friends—not in the room, but sitting nearby in the real world—have the explosive's "defusal" manual. Working together to share details about the bomb's colored wires and arcane symbols entails talking (or shouting) but creates a unique social experience.

But it's the HTC Vive's two-handed touch controls in an experience like Google's free *Tilt Brush* software that demonstrates the new medium's promise. It essentially allows you to paint in three dimensions with a bevy of whimsical substances. Flick a selection tool and you can add twinkling stars, smoke and swirls of blinking neon or frame your creation against a cosmic backdrop. And the fidelity of the Vive's touch controls supports much more than casual doodling, letting serious artists unpack whatever's kicking around their imaginations.

Virtual reality's early adopters will no doubt be heavy gamers. But what many of these early titles seem to have in common is an embrace of the whimsical, otherworldly experiences the technology makes possible. And that's an approach sure to appeal to all types of people. —MATT PECKHAM

GO TO WORK
Job Simulator *lets users moonlight as chefs and store clerks, among other professions, in a futuristic world*

DEFUSE A BOMB
In Keep Talking and Nobody Explodes, *users work with real-world friends to solve puzzles before a virtual bomb goes off*

OCULUS RIFT (3); HTC VIVE (2); ILLUSTRATION BY TIM O'BRIEN FOR TIME; JOSH RAAB/TIME

Donald Trump's confidence game has been years in the making

By Rana Foroohar

IF HERMAN MELVILLE WERE WRITING HIS FAMOUS LAST novel, *The Confidence-Man*, today, there's little doubt who his model for the titular rapscallion would be: Donald Trump. One of the great powers of the confidence man is his ability to embed nuggets of truth in a welter of lies. His victims have no idea where factuality ends and fiction begins. That's the power of the con.

I fear that is what's now happening to the portion of the American public drawn to Trump's populist campaign. Take, for instance, his interview with the Washington *Post*, published April 2. It was rich with fiction, most notably Trump's promise to eliminate the $19 trillion federal debt in eight years. Pundits and policy experts alike rightly pointed out that this is pure fantasy. But there were a few nuggets of truth buried in the interview: Trump claimed that we are sitting on a "big bubble" in the market fueled by "cheap money" that could cause a "massive recession" when it bursts. Sanded of their Trumpian embellishments, these statements are fact.

Corporate debt and leverage are at record levels, something the Treasury Department's Office of Financial Research has been concerned about for a year now. One key reason is that central bankers were forced to pump $4.5 trillion into the economy and keep interest rates at record lows (that's the "cheap money" part) because of congressional gridlock that resulted in a lack of adequate fiscal stimulus. Trump's predictions of recession in the next few years aren't outrageous. They're statistical. Global recessions happen about once every eight years, which puts the world right on track for another. And a global recession could, under certain circumstances, pull the U.S. economy down as well. Some reasonable people now see a 25% to 30% chance of a recession in America by 2017. Trump may be right about where the U.S. could be headed—but dissembles on why we're headed there.

ONE HAS TO WONDER about the level of grift in Trump's vows to protect Main Street too. He has, after all, been a consummate creature of Wall Street for decades. Trump made his money the Wall Street way—with little equity down, lots of leverage and a heads-I-win, tails-you-lose modus operandi. According to one veteran Atlantic City gaming expert who asked not to be named for fear of retaliation, Trump was able to borrow from investors at huge debt-to-equity multiples for his casino projects because their projected returns were bolstered by bad operational assumptions. One was that labor costs could be dramatically cut via "innovations" like Mr. Change machines that would dole out coins to slot players in lieu of floor workers. Trouble is, slot players don't trust change machines. This innovation was a dismal failure, and so was the Taj Mahal.

Not that it mattered much to Trump. Unlike many highly leveraged owners who lose everything when their properties go bankrupt, he was able to restructure his company's debt in relatively favorable ways each time his deals went bad. According to Edward Weisfelner, a partner at the law firm Brown Rudnick, which represented investor Carl Icahn in his effort to gain control of Trump Entertainment Resorts in the wake of Chapter 11 proceedings in 2009, this was in part because Trump was adept at getting creditors to pay him to use his name, even as properties were going under.

Why would anyone want to keep using the name of a man whose business was bankrupted? Partly because it was so incredibly expensive to scrub the Trump name off. "He would put his name on every possible thing in a casino that he could think of—the chips, the glassware, the carpets, the curtains," says Weisfelner. "This is clearly a guy who had an interest in seeing his moniker everywhere for ego reasons. But he may also have been thinking more strategically: How much might this help me if things go badly?"

TRUMP KNOWS SO MUCH about the gap between the 1% and the 99% because he's one of the guys who helped widen it. He's not a businessman who'll bring back U.S. jobs but a branding expert adept at making money mainly for himself. Still, his ability to spin a fable that resonates with the day-to-day experience of Main Street, where the "recovery" has never really felt like one, and then use it to sell his own fabulist prescriptions is what makes Trump so effective. At the end of Melville's tome, readers are left to decide how much is truth, how much is fiction and in whom it is safe to place their confidence. This fall, American voters may find themselves in the very same position. ☐

TRUMP'S FACTS AND FICTIONS

He's right that the U.S. may face a recession; global recessions happen about every eight years on average

But … he's wrong that he'll be able to get rid of the federal debt by renegotiating trade deals with the rest of the world

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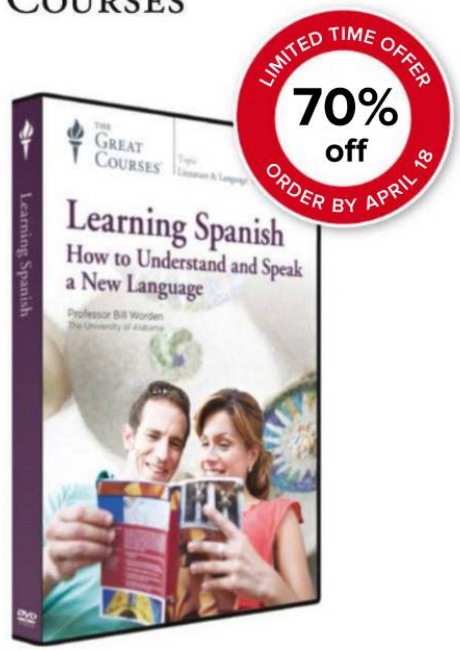

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In Wisconsin, Trump faltered and Palin bombed. Can Cruz find a New York state of mind?

By Joe Klein

ON THE FRIDAY BEFORE THE WISCONSIN PRIMARY, the Milwaukee County Republican Party had a dinner at the local American Serb Hall. It was a tough crowd for John Kasich, a self-described Croatian who didn't appear to be trying very hard. The party stalwarts, acting on instructions from their beloved Governor Scott Walker, gave a hearty welcome to Ted Cruz, who met the challenge easily. But the weirdest part of the evening was Sarah Palin, who spoke as Donald Trump's surrogate. She was nearly incomprehensible. And before long, people were actually rolling their eyes and giggling. "Someone get a gong," a gentleman sitting next to me implored. She seemed lost as she talked about a neoisolationist foreign policy, "not just nation-building schemes," she said, noticing the unrest in the audience. "It's not something to laugh at, friends."

I remember the days—not so long ago—when Sarah Palin was the Donald Trump of the Republican Party. She drew packed houses, got 'em laughing: "How's that hopey-changey stuff workin' out for ya?" But now she was pathetic—and led me to wonder if Donald Trump, in the days to come, will become the Sarah Palin of the Republican Party.

Probably not. For one thing, he's not very much of a Republican—which is why, I have no doubt, he will not get this party's nomination with anything less than 1,237 delegates at the GOP's convention in Cleveland. He has simply alienated too many of the party's stalwarts. Even when he tries to pander these days—as on abortion, where he momentarily favored "punishing" the women who have one—he's tone-deaf, going too far, then skittering away, attempting as many position modifications as Jeb Bush did on the Iraq War. His appeal has little to do with actual politics, except for the politics of resentment. It has everything to do with his "aura of personality," which he told the Washington *Post* would be the defining strength of his presidency. He says such things without irony.

ON THE DAY after Palin's tragic surrogacy, she was at it again—introducing Trump to a large gathering just outside the town of Wausau. "This feels like Alaska," she said to the crowd, which was dressed in hunting and camouflage garb. Indeed, the Wisconsin Bear Hunters were having a convention next door—affirming, no doubt, their constitutional right to harm bears. There have been times, in both the Palin and Trump campaigns, when such colorful settings have been mistaken for America, rather than Americana. Any association of Hispanic bodega owners in New York City's outer boroughs, and there are more than a few, is as patriotic.

ON THE STUMP

"Common sense is an endangered species in Washington ... [Trump] builds things, he builds big things."

SARAH PALIN, speaking to a mystified crowd at the Friday dinner in Milwaukee

"I want to talk to all the single moms who are working two or three jobs ... to all the truck drivers, all the mechanics and plumbers and steelworkers, all the union members."

TED CRUZ, trying to sound a more populist note in Dane, Wis., before the primary

Trump's appeal in Wausau was simple. "You people are gonna be so rich," he averred, because he was going to renegotiate trade deals and get our allies to pay for their own defense. He celebrated his personal bravado, implying that Trumpestuous ignorance would be more powerful than wimpy-kneed statesmanship. Look at all the pompous plumage he'd ruffled by calling NATO obsolete. It was, he admitted, "a big statement to make when you don't know much about it." But he was going to get the Europeans to pony up for our role in their defense. "I'm gonna be as presidential as I can be," he said, "... and still get the money." There was a roar. "I'm gonna get the money."

THE RESULTS IN WISCONSIN were reassuring to those who hope Trump might be stopped in Cleveland. The agent of that deliverance, Senator Cruz, is hardly an inspirational figure, though. I've been searching for some redeeming social value in his sneery speeches. He can be principled—his opposition to the ethanol boondoggle in Iowa was courageous—and he does have a sense of humor, but his jokes are revealing. In Milwaukee, he told two. One was about the Democratic field: "There's a wild-eyed socialist with ideas that are dangerous for America ... and there's Bernie Sanders." He also defined politics as "*poli*, which means many, and *tics*, which means bloodsucking parasites."

The latter joke goes to the heart of the matter: this has become the Republican default position. Politicians are crooks; the federal government is a racket. This is not a new American theme, but it's always been a minor chord. Hope is, and remains, more powerful than cynicism in this country.

On the day after the Wisconsin primary, Cruz was scheduled to hold an event in the Bronx, the historic home turf of ethnic dreamers. Perhaps he will take a walking tour of the bodegas, talk to the owners and find that the "New York values" he once derided are as American as bratwurst. □

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LEARNING TO LOVE TED

He has a plan to take the GOP nomination from Donald Trump. But first he must heal old wounds

By Michael Scherer

Senator Ted Cruz celebrates winning the Wisconsin primary with his wife Heidi and Governor Scott Walker in Milwaukee on April 5

PHOTOGRAPH BY PETER HAPAK FOR TIME

TED CRUZ WAS TRYING TO PLAY NICE IN Waukesha, Wis. Wearing Texas boots, blue jeans and his Princeton class ring, he rolled through a campaign speech perfected long ago, a precise list of one-liners delivered in a growling, apocalyptic style. Think Moses on high, tablets firmly in hand.

After each complete thought—abolish the IRS, stop amnesty, beat back federal regulators "who have descended like locusts"—he paused, chuckled and nodded his head, as if suddenly impressed. This tactic to elicit applause infuriates his rival Donald Trump, the Queens-born brawler, whose own rambling runons and fragments are more suited for the barstool than the pew. "Five-second intermission between sentences," Trump complains of the Cruz rhetorical style. But for the former college debater who argued nine cases before the Supreme Court, the spaces between words work like a metronome, building suspense, adding somber layers of gravitas.

So it was something to see when the most hated Senator in Washington began to sound like the Great Unifier for the Grand Old Party before an American flag the size of a prairie barn and an entranced crowd. This was a Senator who had campaigned for months as the anti-Establishment, anti-Washington rebel, deriding his own party's leadership as a criminal cartel of bloodsuckers. This was a Republican who had been called a "jackass" by his own former House Speaker and a "wacko bird" by John McCain. For months on the trail, Cruz would joke that he might need food tasters to eat in the U.S. Senate dining room. And now he was suggesting the long war would come to an end, with himself as the cohering force.

"Let me say, what you are seeing here in Wisconsin, and across the country, is the 65 to 70% of Republicans who recognize that nominating Donald Trump would be a disaster," he said, before a nod, chortle and pause for applause. "Of the 17 Republican candidates who started, five have now endorsed this campaign." Another pause. "You are looking at the entire spectrum of the Republican Party. The entire ideological spectrum, coming together and uniting."

This is what it looks like when Rafael Edward Cruz tries to pitch a bigger tent. Blink and you might miss it. His national political career is no older than Barack Obama's second term, and up to now, the Cruz brand has never wavered. He stands for ideological purity. Obstruction over compromise. Confrontation despite the odds. He has built an appeal that is narrow by design, "in bold colors, not pale pastels," leaving few elected politicians in America who can claim a position to his right. Until now, he has not worried much about conversion.

Which is why Republicans now face an extraordinary and painful choice: Which flawed, disliked flag bearer do they want to go into battle against Hillary Clinton? The Cruz path promises a return to the purity of Barry Goldwater, Ronald Reagan's broad-shouldered muscle and the idealism of Ayn Rand. The Trump path leads to uncharted territory of conflict and possible realignment, where a self-described great man promises to do great things beyond the reach of ideology or history because of a great instinct honed by great real estate moxie. The two men have stood 11 times on the same debate stage, but they don't speak anything like the same language. The choices are as stark as any in history at this point in the process: Free-market purism or disruptive trade wars. Dismantle the federal entitlement system or strengthen the Social Security safety net. Return to American dominance on the world stage or threaten withdrawal from South Korea and NATO. End federal funding for Planned Parenthood or defend the women's health group. Then there is Trump's plan to force the relocation of 11 million people.

Up to now, the Cruz brand has never wavered. He stands for ideological purity. Obstruction over compromise. Confrontation despite the odds. He has built an appeal that is narrow by design

And if these options were not jarring enough, it is not even clear that Republican voters will decide, in the end, who is preferable. American democracy is not always democratic, especially when it comes to intraparty disputes—the majority does not rule, and the people may not decide. And the complex rules of the Republican Party suggest that the choice of the ultimate nominee hinges on a process far more mysterious than who gets more people to the polls on primary day.

After his loss in Wisconsin, Trump's only certain path to the nomination is to win 60% of the remaining pledged delegates, an unlikely feat. But Cruz would need to win an even less likely 92%. If neither reaches the 1,237 delegates needed on the first ballot in Cleveland, the process will be thrown open to the crowd, whose names are still largely unknown and motivations subject to dispute. If both Cruz and Trump struggle to get majority support after several ballots, there is even a slim chance that a third person, such as current House Speaker Paul Ryan or also-ran Governor John Kasich of Ohio, could wind up the nominee.

As a result, the unity that Cruz now peddles remains more of a wish than a thing. Many people who openly dislike Cruz have simply chosen him as their vehicle to stop Trump on the convention floor in Cleveland—for now. South Carolina Senator Lindsey Graham, one of the five candidates to endorse Cruz, says he is "holding my nose" for no other reason than utility. "As many differences as I have with Ted Cruz, which are real, they pale in comparison with the differences I have with Donald Trump," Graham told TIME. The Club for Growth spent $1 million on a television ad in Wisconsin that told moderate voters, "Stop Trump, vote for Cruz." Never mind Cruz himself.

In Washington, among the so-called cartel of power brokers and party bosses, Cruz has, for the moment, become the best foil to maintain some control over the party, an irony not lost on either his supporters or detractors. Republican insiders have started to compare Cruz to a parking lot, the safest place to keep your car idling for now. "Are you really for Cruz or are you trying to run up Cruz's delegates so that Trump doesn't win on the first ballot?" asks Richard Hohlt, a veteran GOP consultant. "That appears to be what's going on."

Cruz, in other words, still has his work cut out for him before he can unify his parking lot. There will be more lurches and jolts before anyone accepts the nomination in Cleveland. "There is an ancient Chinese curse," Cruz told his supporters in Waukesha. "May you live in interesting times."

ERIC THAYER—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

Cruz greets diners at the Kenosha, Wis., Mars Cheese Castle, one day before his primary victory

THE FOLLOWING EVENING, after changing from his Texas jeans into his election-night suit and powder blue tie, Cruz sat down with TIME for an interview. Sitting on the hotel sofa, the candidate was at ease, relishing what by then was a clear victory. He had coalesced a broad swath of GOP voters for the first time, winning nonevangelicals and evangelicals, young and old, of all ideological bents. "This race is very simple," he said. "If we unite, we win. If we do not, we lose."

Good politicians know how to recast their message for the moment. The great ones seem to do it without contradiction, alienation or any actual change in position. This is the leap that Cruz is now attempting. He won the Iowa caucuses with devotion and red meat. His rallies began like prayer circles and continued into fury. He would describe the hatred for him from his own party as "the whole point of the campaign." He promised not just to repeal Obamacare but to rescind "every word" on Day One. More than unwind the Iran nuclear deal, he vowed to rip it "to shreds." He would not just destroy Islamic extremism, he would find out if "sand can glow in the dark."

Those bold positions all remain, but their packaging has been muted. The clenched fists are now open arms. "From the beginning, our objective was to reunite the old Reagan coalition to bring together Republicans and independents and libertarians and Reagan Democrats," he said. "I believe the path to winning the Republican nomination and winning the general election is standing up for hard-working men and women of America who have been left behind by Washington." The conservative caterpillar is becoming a general-election butterfly.

This same pivot animates his campaign. After Wisconsin, Cruz planned to work hard to move beyond the white, evangelical, mostly male voters who have always been his core supporters. In his campaign speeches, he has begun to address "single moms" and "working moms" directly, with a message of economic populism to match the appeal of Trump and the Democrats. The day after Wisconsin, he traveled to a meeting with black and Latino pastors in the Bronx, spoke halting Spanish with reporters afterward and repeatedly referred to "our community" when talking about Latinos.

Then there are the gauzy new references in his public remarks. The speech

he had prepared for the network cameras the night he won Wisconsin included a quote from former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill about ending the quarrel between past and present to focus instead on the future. He would even quote Democratic President John F. Kennedy, who Cruz has long argued, improbably, would be a conservative Republican if he were alive today. "We are not here to curse the darkness, but to light the candle that can guide us through that darkness to a safe and sane future," Cruz said, repeating Kennedy's words.

But it is another President who he said gave him hope his gambit could succeed. "Throughout the course of this campaign, as others have gotten nasty and gotten personal, have engaged in a war of insults and petty personal attacks, I haven't responded in kind," Cruz explained, referencing, among other things, Trump's recent attack on the appearance of his wife Heidi. "That is very much the model of Ronald Reagan, even when Reagan primaried Gerald Ford in '76."

Many of Cruz's Senate colleagues, who wear the scars of Cruz's own tactics, would take issue with his new unilateral disarmament campaign. If anything has defined Cruz's rise as a freshman Senator, it has been a willingness to publicly and privately sacrifice members of his own party when it served his interests.

Even his closest friend, Senator Mike Lee of Utah, suffered a Cruz ambush in October at an otherwise unremarkable hearing on a Lee bill to reduce sentences for nonviolent federal offenders. Cruz shocked all present by announcing his opposition in a Senate Judiciary Committee hearing, suggesting the bill would unleash violent "illegal aliens" on the streets and weaken Second Amendment protections. The bill died on its way to the Senate floor, and Lee eventually endorsed Cruz anyway.

This has been a pattern. In his brief Senate career, Cruz seemed to go out of his way to make enemies, fundraising for groups that oppose incumbent Republicans, leading a hopeless charge in 2013 to shut down the government in the name of repealing Obamacare and objecting to procedural moves that would have prevented Republicans from taking difficult votes to raise the debt ceiling. In 2015, he took to the Senate floor to call Republican leader Mitch McConnell a liar. (In reply, McConnell sent word to the GOP lobbying class that they supported Cruz at their peril.) Cruz's home-state colleague, Texas Senator John Cornyn, has pointedly refused to offer an endorsement, even after Cruz won 44% of the state's primary vote, nearly 17 points more than the second-place Trump. At the same time, in a sign of the conflict, Cruz has warned his colleagues that "voters are upset" and that if the Establishment is seen "undercutting their will, that could be a powder keg."

Cruz has begun the process of trying to charm his detractors. He has urged Lee and former Senator Phil Gramm to try to heal old wounds with some in the Senate, though not yet McConnell. Cruz himself has been holding lengthy private sessions with Republican leaders, according to one Cruz insider with knowledge of the meetings. But under Republican rules, it is not elected officials or even powerful Senators who pick the nominee at a contested convention. That decision will be left to 2,472 delegates, mostly state and local party boosters and officials, chosen through local processes so complex, they make tax law seem fun. Most of those delegates will be bound only on the first ballot to vote for a candidate chosen by their state's GOP voters.

THE PROSPECT OF FOUR DAYS of televised political chaos has led GOP chairman Reince Priebus to move in recent days to take back his party. Republican governors in 31 states have been challenged by party leaders to try to get control of these delegations now and seed them with seasoned loyalists. Local party bigwigs and lobbying groups are leaning on the GOP governors to put some muscle into the effort.

Perhaps sensing a counter-revolt, Trump has hired Paul Manafort, a floor manager for Gerald Ford at the last contested convention in 1976, to help ensure that Trump people are appointed to Trump delegate spots as well as to the party's rules, platform and credentialing committees. The fight will be long, ugly and expensive. It costs a lot of money to attend a convention, and state parties sometimes dun delegates for extra cash to help pay for rooms, travel, parties, hospitality suites, political swag and transportation. Under Federal Election Commission rules, delegates can accept sums of money to attend the convention without disclosure, a loophole that might lend party leaders an assist with maintaining party discipline. "You can pay delegates off," explains Rick Tyler, Cruz's former spokesman. "I think it's unethical, but it's not illegal."

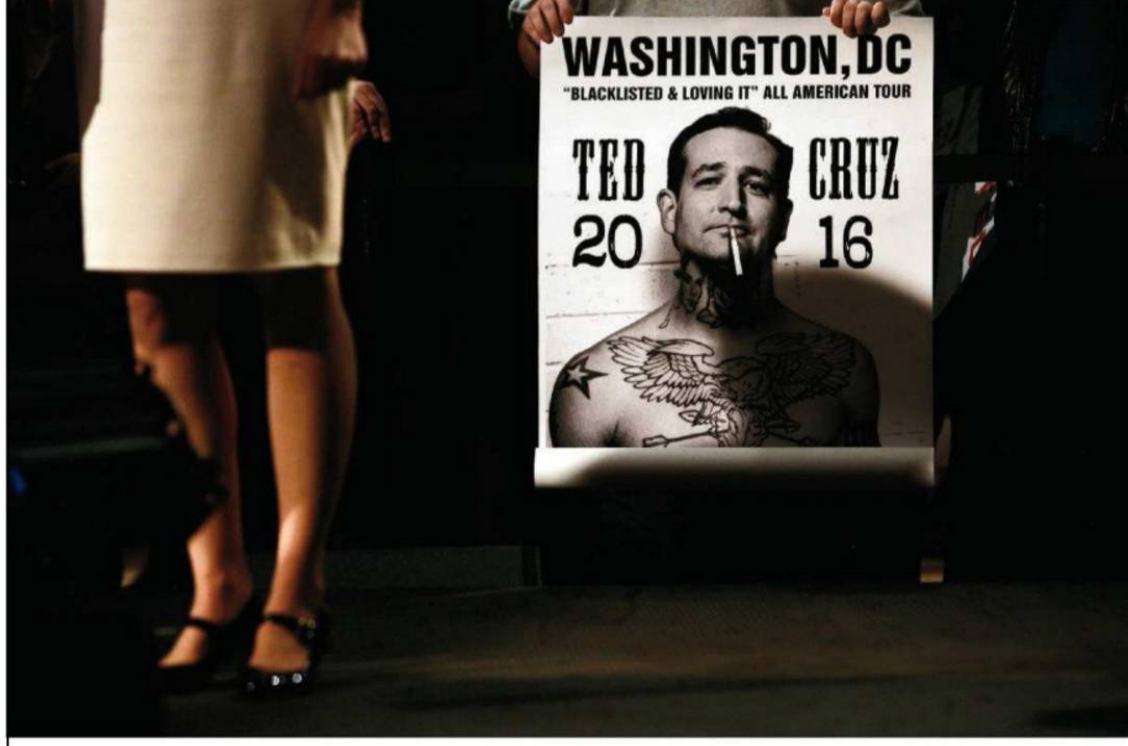
'They will drop him like a hot potato,' former Trump adviser Roger Stone says of Cruz's attempt to make common cause with Establishment leaders. 'This man has no friends.'

Meanwhile, there is little mystery about who has the best operation for wrangling, recruiting and securing delegates. From Tennessee to Colorado, Cruz's delegate-hunting operation has dominated, with his aides confident that around 200 Trump delegates will swing to Cruz after the first ballot. In Virginia, where Cruz finished a distant third, the campaign is hustling to install supporters in the state's 13 at-large delegate slots. In Louisiana, Cruz is set to pick up as many as 10 more delegates than Trump, despite losing the Bayou State primary by four points. In a show of organizational muscle, 18 of 25 delegates elected at the North Dakota state convention backed Cruz. In Georgia, where Cruz finished a distant third, his allies have dominated preference polls of the party activists showing up at precinct and county meetings. "We're going to make sure we get dealt four aces," says a member of Cruz's delegate operation. "You don't just want Cruz supporters. You want fighters. At the national convention, there will be more browbeating and arm twisting than you can imagine."

Consider what has been happening in Arizona: Trump romped to victory in the state on March 22, crushing Cruz with 47% of the vote. The win netted Trump all 58 of the state's delegates—but only for the first ballot. Cruz's operatives in the state have been working for weeks to secure activists who are inclined to support the Texas Senator once they're no longer bound to Trump. The result is an intimate lobbying campaign, carried out through phone calls and texts, emails and in-person contacts at party gatherings and Tea Party functions, gun shows and forums held by taxpayer groups.

"You're not trying to move thousands of people," says Constantin Querard, Cruz's Arizona state director. "These meetings usually have 30 to 200 people. It's feasible to contact everyone." Cruz boosters estimate that anywhere from half to 90% of the Arizona delegates will switch to Cruz after the first ballot.

Cruz has made the shadow campaign a personal priority. While Trump planned his next megarally, Cruz left the campaign trail three days before the critical Wisconsin primary to speak to the North Dakota state convention in Fargo. Cruz also found time to campaign in Wyoming, with only 29 delegates. "It's good old-fashioned grassroots politics," says Quin Hillyer, a conservative columnist who is part of a group that has met to discuss how to stop Trump. "Cruz and his team are showing that they're masters at it."



JOSHUA LOTT—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

A Los Angeles street artist's take on the contender has been embraced by the candidate

AT LEAST SO FAR. The result in Wisconsin, where Cruz trounced Trump 48% to 35%, by no means ends the suspense. The coming terrain in the Republican battle will be far friendlier to Trump than the landscape of the past two weeks, and Trump has signaled a retooling of his operation to get back on track. The real estate developer still polls above 50% in his home state of New York, which votes April 19, and has been endorsed by Governor Chris Christie in nearby New Jersey, which votes on June 7, where the popular-vote winner will take home all the delegates.

The most likely outcome at this point is that Trump will approach, but not meet, the required threshold of 1,237 delegates, opening up a spectacle unlike anything since the unscripted Florida recount of 2000. Former Trump adviser Roger Stone, a unrepentant practitioner of the political dark arts and former business partner of Manafort's, has promised to organize "days of rage" outside the hotels of the delegates, with thousands of Trump voters protesting any effort to hand the nomination to anyone but the candidate who got the most votes. Stone predicts that Cruz has made a deal with the devil by making common cause with Establishment leaders who are not truly on his side. "They will drop him like a hot potato," Stone said. "This man has no friends."

Back in Milwaukee, with exit polls already predicting his big night, Cruz showed no concern at the prospect of battles in the streets of Cleveland. "There's no doubt Donald Trump has energized and excited a great many people," Cruz said, before ticking off issues that Trump has focused on—immigration, trade, low wages. "Those issues will continue to resonate. And they are issues on which I am fighting and leading every day."

The notion that Trump's primary appeal is through a set of issues is a quaint one, which few Republican strategists would share. But then Cruz, the college debater, has always tried to frame his moves in the most advantageous ways. And that style has taken him further and faster than his colleagues ever expected. —*With reporting by* ZEKE J. MILLER/MILWAUKEE; ALEX ALTMAN, PHILIP ELLIOTT *and* JAY NEWTON-SMALL/WASHINGTON

War And Rape

The most shameful consequence of conflict comes out into the open

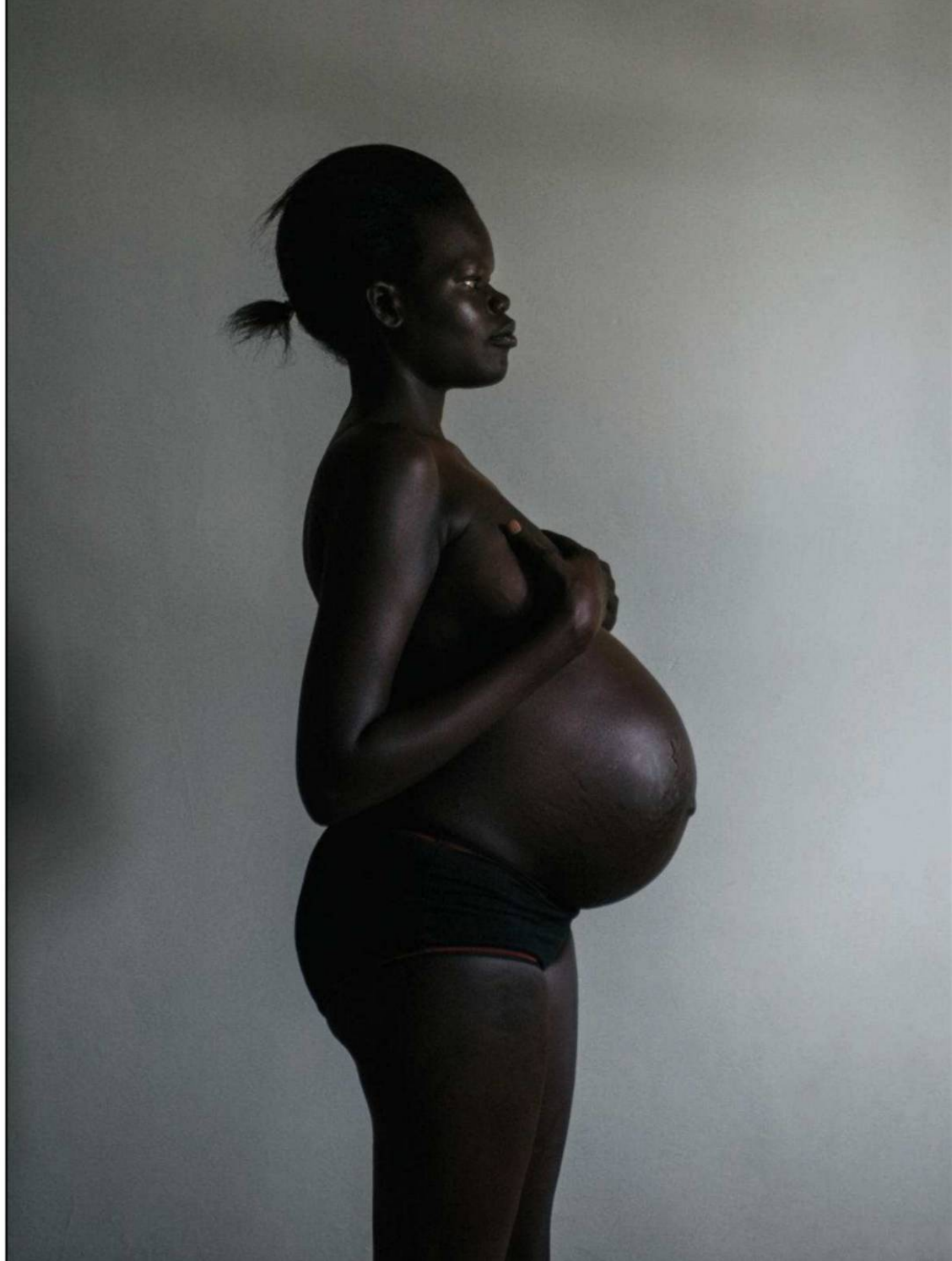
By Aryn Baker

PHOTOGRAPHS BY LYNSEY ADDARIO FOR TIME

FIRST THEY KILLED HER HUSBAND. Then the soldiers killed her two sons, ages 5 and 7. When the uniformed men yanked her daughter from her hands next, Mary didn't think it could get any worse.

Mary and her family were members of the Nuer tribe in South Sudan, caught up in a vicious power struggle between the new nation's President, Salva Kiir, a member of the Dinka tribe, and his Vice President, Riek Machar, a Nuer. Their war, fought largely along ethnic lines, has turned the northern part of the country into a wasteland. At least 50,000 people have been killed, according to the U.N., 2.8 million are at risk of famine, and an additional 2.3 million have fled their homes, recounting tales of civilian slaughter, gratuitous torture and even forced cannibalism. Mary's family were among the tens of thousands of civilians seeking refuge at a U.N. peacekeeping base in the northern city of Bentiu when they ran into Kiir's forces on the road in June 2014.

The 27-year-old recounts what occurred next distantly, as if she were explaining something that happened to someone else. The soldiers told Mary that they considered the Nuer in the camps to be rebels and that they killed her sons because they couldn't risk letting them grow up to be fighters. "We don't kill the women and the girls," Mary recalls the soldiers saying. "They said they would only rape us. As if rape were different than death," says Mary, speaking in a safe house in Uganda run by Make Way Partners, an American Christian organization that provides housing, medical care and schooling for South Sudanese orphans and victims of human trafficking. After the soldiers killed her



Ayak, from South Sudan, was raped on the way to a displaced-persons camp. Photographed at nine months pregnant, she has had her baby

husband and sons, five of them held her down and forced her to watch as three others raped her 10-year-old daughter. Her name was Nyalaat. When the men were done, Mary says, "I couldn't even see my little girl anymore. I could only see blood." Then the men took turns with Mary. Nyalaat died a few hours later. "I wanted to die too."

Instead, Mary made it to a U.N. camp for civilians displaced by war. The conflict raged on, and soldiers—she's not even sure from which army—were able to slip into the camp through gaps in the fence and rape whichever women they could catch. "It happened to all of us—little girls, grandmothers. They didn't care." The rules were simple, says Mary, who asked that her full name not be used. "If you calm down when they are raping you, they won't beat you. But if you resist, they will beat you, even so much to use the gun in you."

Rape in war is as old as war itself. But the intimate nature of sexual assault means that the horrors often go undocumented, sanitized out of history books and glossed over in news accounts that focus on casualties and refugee numbers. Yet that mass rape is so common in wartime only makes it more corrosive. It spreads disease. Its stigma destroys families and breaks down society. It leaves unwanted children who serve as constant reminders of the worst day of their mother's life. "Rape is a weapon even more powerful than a bomb or a bullet," says Jeanna Mukuninwa, a 28-year-old woman from Shabunda, in the Democratic Republic of Congo. "At least with a bullet, you die. But if you have been raped, you appear to the community like someone who is cursed. After rape, no one will talk to you. No man will see you. It's a living death."

Mukuninwa knows. In 2004, at the end of Congo's own war, soldiers attacked her village. They tortured and killed the men. Then they stripped the women, including Mukuninwa, staked their arms and legs to the ground and left them to be used by any passing soldiers. Mukuninwa doesn't know how many men raped her during captivity, but she remembers that they used sticks and rifle barrels as well. She was 16. When the women passed out from the pain, soldiers revived them with buckets of water.

The U.N. reports that 200,000 Congolese women and children have been raped during Congo's long-simmering conflict. Estimates for South Sudan are in the thousands. Both numbers are likely too low, says Pablo Castillo-Diaz, a specialist on sexual violence in conflict for U.N. Women, the U.N. agency tasked with issues of women's equality, protection and empowerment. "Rape is one of the most underreported war crimes that there are. Women, if they survive the attack, rarely tell anyone else. We only hear of the most brutal incidences or the public ones that the whole community sees."

But that's begun to change. In 1998, rape was first prosecuted as a tool of genocide by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, for crimes committed during that country's 1994 genocidal conflict. A few months later, rape was prosecuted as a crime against humanity and a war crime by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, following the discovery of the rape camps used by Serbian soldiers during the Bosnian war. Media coverage of both trials drew international condemnation. Talking about rape in war became less taboo.

Most recently, harrowing revelations about ISIS's sale of Yezidi women as sexual slaves in Iraq and Syria and Boko Haram's abduction of hundreds of schoolgirls for forced marriages in Nigeria have pushed survivors and activists to demand a real global response to a war crime with consequences so enduring it all but precludes peace. "The raping of women, the holding of women as chattel and slaves, is utterly horrific, but it isn't new. It's just an escalation and amplification of what has been going on for many years," says Eve Ensler, the American playwright and activist. "Anytime people are talking about this, it's a good thing. But what hasn't happened is that we haven't ended the violence. That is the next step."

The next step is being taken in Congo of all places, a country whose grim history—it has been dubbed both "the rape capital of the world" and "the world's worst place to be a woman" by high-ranking U.N. officials—has made it an accidental lab for some of the most progressive work on rape recovery. Bukavu, in South Kivu, and Goma, in North Kivu, the areas of eastern Congo most devastated by the war, are home to ambitious international and local programs dedicated to turning rape victims into rape survivors. Their experiences could help women around the world. "It would be a good thing," says Mukuninwa, "that our suffering here in Congo might be able to help other women somewhere else turn their pain into power, as we are starting to do here." First, she says, silence must end. As long as rape remains hidden and shameful, recovery is impossible.

First, says Mukuninwa, silence must end. As long as rape remains hidden and shameful, recovery is impossible

AS A GYNECOLOGIST and the medical coordinator for Panzi Hospital's center for survivors of sexual violence in Bukavu, Dr. Neema Rukunghu knows better than anyone else the physical damage wreaked by rape. She has stitched up the tears, and she has retrieved inserted objects. She has repaired flesh seared by the heat of a bullet fired inside a vagina that by some miracle, or curse, didn't kill but crippled for life. Her work is vital. Women with fistulas—tears between the vagina, the anus, the bladder and the bowel—from rape cannot retain their urine or feces. No matter how often they clean themselves, they smell. They are shunned by their communities and are unwelcome even in church. For many women, fistula surgery is the only route to a new chance at life.

But Rukunghu says that the invisible wounds from rape are even more devastating—and far harder to repair. "Just imagine a husband who is forced to watch his wife be raped, or his daughter. There are things that stay in your head for life." The work she does at Panzi, she says, seems insignificant compared with the scale of that psychic trauma. "In these surgeries, we repair damage, but I never get real closure. Are we truly healing her? Are her problems over? I can't ever say with certainty that I have fixed anyone."

LYNSEY ADDARIO—GETTY IMAGES REPORTAGE FOR TIME

Seven-year-old Kanyere Neema was raped by armed men so many times that she was left paralyzed

On average, Panzi treats 1,300 to 1,900 women a year, even though Congo's war officially ended a decade ago. When Rukunghu first started, seven years ago, she saw young and middle-aged women. Now she is treating even toddlers. In late 2015 she tended to a 3-month-old baby girl who had been abducted from her parents' house and returned a day later, ravaged and near dead. It's unlikely that she will ever be able to potty-train, or walk, or have a child of her own.

Mukuninwa spent a total of seven years at Panzi Hospital. At first it was for the treatments, then because she had nowhere else to go. Physically she was strong, but she couldn't stand to be touched and spent most of her days alone. In 2007, Ensler visited Bukavu at the invitation of Panzi's founding doctor and gynecologist, Denis Mukwege. There she met Christine Schuler-Deschryver, a local women's-rights activist who worked with Mukwege and wanted to help rape survivors regain their lives after surgery. Together, they canvassed patients for ideas. Mukuninwa was one of the most outspoken. "I couldn't say I wanted therapy, because I didn't know what it was," she says. Instead, Mukuninwa asked for schooling. She wanted a safe place to live among supportive peers, where women could learn their rights and where their voices mattered.

In 2011, Schuler-Deschryver and Ensler opened City of Joy, a six-month residential program for rape survivors that combines group therapy with literacy classes, leadership training, self-defense courses and lessons in human-rights law. Ninety women attend each semester. The focus is on empowerment, says Ensler. "City of Joy is not a refuge. It is a center for transformation. We are literally saying that the violence which was done to you, through a process of love, healing therapy and education, can be turned into a motor that makes you a leader."

The therapy, says Mukuninwa, lets women understand that the rape was not their fault. The leadership training gives them confidence, and the nurturing atmosphere enables them to build support networks that last long after the program finishes. Graduates are expected to establish women's support groups when they go home and become leaders in their community. "People think that after being raped, you are just a victim," says Mukuninwa. "What City of Joy taught me

is that life goes on after rape. Rape is not the end. It is not a fixed identity."

AFTER A YEAR at the displaced-persons camp in South Sudan, Mary decided last April to leave for the capital, Juba. By this time she was pregnant and could only guess at which of the six men who had raped her at the camp might be the father. It was too late to take the herbs that some of the other women in the camp used to rid themselves of unwanted pregnancies, and a medical abortion would have been impossible to obtain. Instead, Mary planned to poison the baby as soon as it was born and throw it in the garbage, a curse from God that she would return to God. "I had nothing. No family, no income. I was thinking, How will I be able to take care of a child that reminds me, every time I look at its face, of what happened to me in the camp?"

In the end, Mary kept the baby, now a burbling 9-month-old, after a friend convinced her that she would not be in it alone. Still, Mary struggles with the trauma. She cannot bring herself to say, out loud, that she loves the child, but her tender caresses and softly sung lullabies make it clear that she does.

Unwanted pregnancies like Mary's are one of the most problematic consequences of conflict-related rape. Not only are the women stigmatized; so are their children. In eastern Congo alone, as many as 50,000 children were born of rape over the past two decades. In many countries in Africa and the Middle East, they are not eligible for national IDs without a father's name on the birth certificate, which prevents them from going to school or receiving government assistance. Growing up, they are ostracized as the sons and daughters of loathed enemies and often face discrimination.

The situation illustrates why even antiabortion U.S. lawmakers make exceptions for rape. But the Helms Amendment, a U.S. law enacted in 1973, prevents foreign-aid funds from going to programs that also provide abortions. Since most international humanitarian medical organizations rely in some part on U.S. funding, they are reluctant to take the risk, even if they believe there is a need.

In July, a consortium of 56 international human-rights, legal, medical and religious groups from 22 countries petitioned President Barack Obama to issue an Executive Order affirming the rights of female war-rape victims to comprehensive medical care, including abortion, under the Geneva Conventions. So far, Obama has not officially responded. "We think in terms of making an actual difference in women's lives, the ability to obtain an abortion in the case of conflict-related sexual violence would have the biggest impact," says Castillo-Diaz of U.N. Women. Still, the notion of aborting a pregnancy is so taboo in the Christian communities of Congo and South Sudan that it's not clear how many women would avail themselves of the services even if they did exist.

Josephine Mwamini was raped by seven soldiers in 2010. She still suffers from the physical and mental trauma

And not all women see their children conceived in rape as burdens. Ayak was 17 when she lost her family to a rebel attack on her village near Bentiu, in South Sudan. She was raped while fleeing, alone, toward the camp, and like Mary she was raped repeatedly while she was there. One of her rapists gave her HIV, and now she is pregnant. Make Way Partners, the American Christian organization that helped Mary, also brought Ayak to Uganda for treatment.

Speaking in halting English she picked up as a child in a Kenyan refugee camp, Ayak says her unborn child is the only family she is likely to ever have. In South Sudan, having HIV would make her a social pariah. "I want a family, I want a husband. But the doctors say there is no cure for my disease. No one will ever marry me." She cradles her pregnant belly with both hands and smiles sadly as she envisions a lonely future. "This baby will be my friend. He will keep me company."

Husbands have a harder time accepting children born of rape. When Fabien Mwira found that his wife Judith Niraneza had conceived a child through rape after a 2007 attack on his village near Goma, he abandoned her. A year later, after pressure from his family, he returned, but he says he hated the child. When Niraneza asked for money to feed the little girl or buy her clothes, he would beat his wife, telling her to go ask the child's father.

Reflecting on his behavior, Mwira says men often feel emasculated and guilty when their wives are raped and don't know how to reassert their role in the family—except through violence. "We men don't have fistulas that need to be repaired, but we have a trauma that needs healing," he says. "And it is just as important for bringing peace to our communities that we be healed as it is for the women to be healed."

Mwira was part of a 2012 pilot program for male partners of rape survivors developed by a psychologist in tandem with Promundo, a U.S.-based NGO that focuses on domestic violence. The program, called Living Peace, targets men who have been flagged as violent or who have abandoned their wives. Over guided group-therapy sessions, the men are taught that rape is not their wives' fault and that it is no reflection of their inability to provide for and protect their families. They also learn how to be better husbands and fathers. "I was so ashamed," says Mwira. "I thought I was the only one whose wife had been raped. But when I understood that others had the same problems as me, I started to understand that it wasn't her fault. And by then I started to come closer to her bit by bit."

After a pilot program that started with 300 men in 2012, Promundo is set to bring the therapy to 9,000 more men and their wives by 2019. "Yes, it's important to focus on the victims of sexual violence, and even on the children born of sexual violence," says Benoit Ruratotoye, Living Peace's Goma-based founding psychologist. "But to complete the circle, to really help this society change, we need to involve the author of this violence: men."

RAPE IN WAR largely begins, and ends, with men. In Congo, as around the world, Ruratotoye blames a masculine culture rooted in violence that has devalued women. Though groups like ISIS and Boko Haram justify wartime rape through twisted interpretations of religious doctrine, at the base is a belief in the superiority of men. To stop rape, says Ruratotoye, that thinking needs to change. "We have to develop a positive masculinity. One that isn't based on violence, that promotes the rights of all." It starts, he says, with boys. "If they are not taught human rights, respect for women, equality, these children will grow into young men who think they are better than women, and they will grow into men who rape women, who will use violence to get their way. They will become violent men."

Education alone isn't enough to stop rape in war, says Rukunghu, the fistula surgeon at Panzi Hospital. That requires society as a whole to condemn it and the government to act. So far, the Congolese government has convicted 135 soldiers on rape charges since the end of the war, and it says the decline in registered cases of rape in former conflict zones, from 15,000 in 2013 to 10,882 in 2014, is due in part to increased prosecution. But the numbers are still unacceptably high, says Rukunghu, largely because it took more than a decade to respond. If there is anything other countries can learn from Congo's experience, she says, it is to address the issue immediately, before wartime rape infects all of society. "When I see these [child] rapes in the community, it makes me think that they are doing it because those who did it before, during the war, were never punished," says Rukunghu. "Instead it was banalized, and so it was like we accepted that rape is something that can happen." A man may believe that sex with a virgin girl, even one as young as 3 months old, may bring him wealth or cure disease, she says, "but that is not why he does it. He does it because he knows that there is no prison waiting for him, no death penalty. He knows he can get away with it."

No countries need these efforts more than Syria and Iraq, where ISIS has openly codified a system of sexual slavery so repugnant that the world has reacted with outrage rarely seen in other incidences of wartime rape. In August 2014, ISIS attacked the northern Iraqi region of Sinjar, taking thousands of women and children from the Yezidi religious minority as slaves. ISIS's department of war spoils set prices based on age. In a document dated Jan. 29, 2015, its committee for religious rulings detailed the conditions under which a slave could be used for sex. They are horrendous. "I did not want to kill myself—but I wanted them to kill me," says Nadia Murad Basee Taha, a young Yezidi woman who was held as a sex slave by ISIS in Iraq for months before managing to escape.

If Congo's experiences with rape in conflict can help victims around the world with recovery, then the global reaction to ISIS's use of sexual slavery should serve as a template for more effective prosecution. "We have a history of impunity for sexual war crimes that goes back to the beginnings of war," says Ensler. "When you don't have accountability, you can basically say you have licensed that kind of sexual brutality forever."

To put an end to rape in war, rather than merely healing it, requires that ISIS's actions be treated as a war crime, point-blank, and not just a "second-class crime that happens to second-class citizens," according to Zainab Bangura, the U.N.'s special representative on sexual violence in conflict. Rape in war, she notes, is not inevitable. Rather it is a reflection of the subordinate status of women in society. Wartime rape will stop when the status of women changes and the shame lands on the perpetrators, not the victims. ◻

Chinese students wait their turn during training at the Evergrande Football School near Qingyuan

KEVIN FRAYER—GETTY IMAGES

CHINA'S SOCCER PITCH

Beijing has a global plan to dominate the beautiful game

By Charlie Campbell/ Qingyuan

DRIVE AN HOUR NORTH OF GUANGZHOU, China's smog-wreathed southern megacity, and a knot of faux-baroque buildings emerges from the rolling hillside. A 20-ft. (6-m) replica of the World Cup trophy stands at the entrance. The soft *phud, phud, phud* refrain of soccer balls skimming across 50 emerald-striped training fields is accented with encouraging yells from the sidelines in Chinese and Spanish. "Don't let him get so close!" "Look around you!" "Switch to the other side!"

The soccer taught at the Evergrande Football School is pure tiki-taka, the swift pass-and-move style made famous by the all-conquering Barcelona club. The 24 Spanish coaches on staff have swapped the Iberian sun for clammy East Asia, where they help train 2,800 young Chinese hopefuls at what is the world's biggest soccer school. "This under-12s team accepts Spanish football ideals and day by day is becoming closer to a Spanish team level," beams Madrid native Sergio Zarco Díaz, 40, who has coached at Evergrande since it opened almost four years ago. "But they need to improve mentally—especially their decisionmaking."

Plush soccer academies like Evergrande are popping up across China, a testament to the country's drive to dominate the global game. On March 5, the new season of the Chinese Super League (CSL) kicked off with fans giddy from an

unprecedented influx of top international talent to the domestic league. The CSL spent a net $300 million during the winter transfer window, more than Europe's top five leagues combined. The English Premier League—the richest domestic competition in the world—spent the second most cash. In third place? China's second-tier league.

Some of the world's most decorated players and coaches are now shunning London and Milan for Shanghai and Nanjing, joining teams flush from government-linked investment funds. Brazilian stars Alex Teixeira and Ramires Santos stunned many when they joined a Chinese team for $56 million and $36 million respectively, amid a galaxy of other soccer stars. CSL television rights for 2016–20 just sold for $1.3 billion to China Media Capital, a state-backed investment company, a 30-fold increase on the previous price.

The impetus for this athletic revolution comes directly from Chinese President Xi Jinping. A self-proclaimed soccer enthusiast, Xi published a 50-point road map in 2014 designed to fix the embarrassing state of the Chinese game. (The men's game, that is—China's women regularly qualify for the World Cup and were runners-up in 1999.) Xi's master plan includes opening some 20,000 special "soccer schools," attached to regular schools, over the next five years, rising to 50,000 within a decade. He also has his eyes on hosting the 2026 FIFA World Cup, and perhaps even nabbing 2022 from Qatar should the organization's ethics committee decide the Middle Eastern country was awarded the honor unfairly. Last month the Wanda Group, owned by China's richest man, Wang Jianlin, became the first Asian company to sign up as a top-tier FIFA sponsor. "Revitalizing soccer is a must to build China into a sports powerhouse," said a statement by China's Central Reform Committee, chaired by Xi. Soccer has become integral to China's resurgence on the world stage.

CHINA EXCELS AT MANY SPORTS, as demonstrated by its 51 gold medals at the 2008 Beijing Olympics, compared with 36 for the second-place U.S. But soccer is the shameful outlier. The Chinese Dragons, as the national team is dubbed, are currently 96th in the FIFA rankings—below beggarly North Korea and even the Faroe Islands, which have all of 50,000 people. China has only ever qualified for one World Cup, held in South Korea and Japan in 2002, where it lost all three group-stage matches without scoring a single goal—and suffered the additional humiliation of watching its Asian rivals advance to the knockout round.

Such failures can seem perplexing. Aside from boasting the world's largest population, the Chinese people are certified soccer fanatics. Europe's top teams regularly tour Shanghai and Beijing during the off-season, performing exhibition matches before raucous, sellout crowds. Sports bars are filled with young Chinese clad in the latest—if counterfeit—Chelsea and Real Madrid gear. "China actually has a strong core of [soccer] fan culture—it is the game everyone loves," says Cameron Wilson, founder of the Wild East Football Chinese soccer blog. "They just don't have a culture of playing."

But Chinese soccer does have a culture of corruption. Illicit gambling syndicates involving triads have long put the squeeze on players, coaches and referees. In 2007, a high-profile betting ring in Singapore that fixed matches worldwide was traced back to gangsters in China's northeast. Bloated national squads would typically include substandard players from China's many regions simply to show face to powerful local administrators.

Embarrassment descended into farce in September 2009, during a match that has became immortalized as "chip-shot gate." Qingdao Hailifeng FC were cruising 3-0 against Sichuan FC when, minutes before the final whistle, a Qingdao assistant coach ordered his goalkeeper to come off his line. A Qingdao defender then lofted the ball over the goalkeeper's head, missing an own goal by centimeters. The club's owner Du Yunqi was furious after the match, but not for the reasons you might think. As he would later tell investigators, Du had bet there would be a total of four goals in the match. "Afterward the boss was angry and scolded me, saying I bungled things and couldn't even fix a match," the assistant coach said on national television.

The CSL spent a net $300 million during the winter transfer window, more than Europe's top five leagues combined

For President Xi, who has made purging the rampant corruption in the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) his top goal, such blatant cheating couldn't escape notice. Sports matter: with economic growth slowing as painful reforms take hold, the CCP needs new ways to command legitimacy. Dozens of officials have been jailed for match fixing. They include Lu Jun, a celebrated referee who had officiated at a World Cup and Olympic Games and was known as the "golden whistle" for his perceived credibility. "Chinese football is cleaner than it was five years ago but still has a lot of work to do," says Simon Chadwick, professor of sports enterprise at Britain's Salford University.

As the sport cleans up, Chinese billionaires have begun adding stakes in soccer clubs to their investment portfolios, and spending millions to bring in top-flight international talent. "There's a certain amount of bravado to it," says Christopher Atkins, a Guangzhou-based soccer agent, referring to the current crop of multimillion-dollar arrivals. "The Chinese like their luxury goods, their big names, and that applies to [soccer] too."

But this is not just about conspicuous consumption; it is also good business. To thrive in a one-party state, top companies must appear supportive of government policy. Most clubs are owned by real estate giants and media conglomerates—entities that live and die under the thumb of the state. "If entrepreneurs do something for the government then you can expect the government will do something for them in return," says Chadwick.

The government recognizes that just importing foreign stars isn't enough—they need to foster a grassroots playing culture. But China faces some unique challenges in this regard. In the country's incredibly competitive school environment, academia rules and children feel enormous pressure to succeed in the classroom. In sports-mad countries like Brazil or Argentina, soccer is seen as a way out of the favela or barrio, as their idols have demonstrated. Impoverished Chinese have no such incentive or example of indigenous pro soccer stars. Chinese culture also traditionally places individual pursuits—such as swimming or gymnastics—above team sports.

CHRIS GADSBY—13

Byer shows his stuff to a group of Chinese students at a soccer clinic in Beijing in 2013

TO WIN A WORLD CUP, the game cannot be a mere passion—it must be a religion. Tom Byer is an unlikely messiah for China. The 55-year-old soccer coach from New York State hasn't won a Champions League trophy or a Copa del Rey title, or even appeared in the English Premier League. Yet he is a household name in Japan, where for 15 years he has presented "Tomsan's Soccer Technics" [sic] on the nation's most popular kids' TV show, *Oha Suta,* and filed a double-page feature with the same title in its best-selling manga comic, *CoroCoro.*

Some of Japan's top soccer stars, like Borussia Dortmund midfielder Shinji Kagawa, have cited Byer as a key inspiration, prompting China to recruit him in 2012 to be chief adviser to the Ministry of Education's soccer-in-schools program. Byer says the prevailing wisdom about teaching soccer is totally wrong. "Everyone thinks it's a kicking game when really it's about controlling the ball."

Byer did an experiment with his own kids. Gifted a case of miniature footballs by Adidas, he put two in each room of his house and got his young sons to practice trapping, controlling, feinting, shielding and turning with the ball as soon as they could walk. "If you challenge a little Latin kid for a football, they will pull it back and try to protect it," says Byer. "For most other kids in the world, they'll kick it away, freeze or run after it."

It's enough to convince the Chinese authorities. Byer is about to embark on a grand road show of schools across China's 32 regions and provinces, accompanied by a local television crew, to show parents and teachers how to train children from a very young age. He is also shooting a Chinese version of "Tomsan's Soccer Technics" that will appear on state television 365 days a year. Byer believes he can radically improve the trajectory of player development by turning ordinary parents into coaches. There are 100 million Chinese children under the age of 6. "If only a tenth of that number take up the training, then you have 10 million kids who are comfortable having a soccer ball at their feet," says Dr. John Ratey, associate clinical professor of psychiatry at Harvard Medical School, who backs Byer's research.

For now, all China's fans and budding stars can do is dream. Hao Linze, 13, says he had to fight his parents to come to the Evergrande Football School from his hometown in the central Hunan province. "One day I want to play for Real Madrid or Barcelona," he says. "I want to be better than Cristiano Ronaldo." High goals, but when asked whether China will ever win the World Cup, Linze finds his optimism abruptly drained. "No," he grins, but then jogs back to the *phud, phud, phud* of a nation determined to try. ◻

Education

The NEW College Application

Notebook doodles. Video selfies. Why top U.S. schools are embracing radical new ways to size up students and fix a broken process

By Eliza Gray

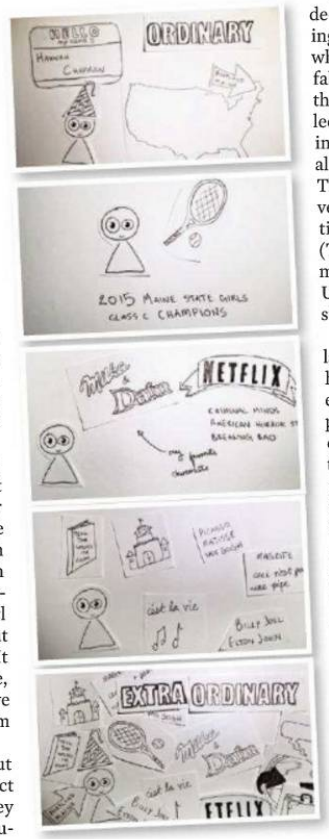
ILLUSTRATION BY CHELSEA KARDOKUS FOR TIME

HANNAH CHAPMAN IS USED TO dealing with nerves. A competitive tennis player, the 17-year-old faced some of the toughest opponents in Maine on her way to winning a state title. But the weekend before her early-decision application was due on Nov. 1, her on-court calm was nowhere to be found. Hannah had wanted to go to Elon, a liberal-arts college in North Carolina, since the 10th grade. As the deadline approached, however, she couldn't help but feel inadequate. Elon sifts through some 10,000 applications every year, and Hannah worried that nothing made hers stand out from the rest. Then she noticed that applicants could create a profile on a social-media platform called ZeeMee, which lets them use videos and images to show a side of themselves that might not come through in the typical mix of transcripts, essays and teacher recommendations. Feeling desperate, she decided to give it a try.

Using black pen on basic white paper, Hannah drew little cartoons to represent her interests—an old-fashioned trunk for her wanderlust, music notes for her love of French pop—and tied it together with her own narration. "My name is Hannah Chapman, and on paper, I seem like an ordinary 17-year-old, middle-class white girl from Maine," she says in the voice-over. "But there is so much more to me than that." It was rudimentary but clever. In just a minute, she showed that she was self-aware, creative and a little irreverent—far more than the sum of her average grades and test scores.

Hannah may not have realized it, but her handcrafted video displayed the exact characteristics that many colleges say they are now trying to find in prospective students. "Our admissions officers are looking for something that is authentic and imperfect, and somebody who is thinking differently," says Amy Gutmann, president of the University of Pennsylvania. "When people game the system, they all sound the same. We are not looking for students who fit one particular mold. The current process really does not fuel that well."

Plenty of other higher-education leaders say they share Gutmann's view, and they're now helping drive a major shift in the hypercompetitive, overstressed world of college admissions. They acknowledge some of the problems they helped create: too many kids burn out trying to come off as perfect rather than real, and a focus on hard metrics like AP classes and test scores means too many promising students from disadvantaged backgrounds are overlooked.



HANNAH'S VIDEO

SIMPLE PEN DRAWINGS WERE ANIMATED INTO A ONE-MINUTE BIOGRAPHICAL FILM

As a result, many schools have dropped or de-emphasized standardized tests, and a growing number say they are striving to find kids who are "authentic" rather than "ideal." Last fall, a group of nearly 100 schools—including the entire Ivy League and many of the most selective state universities and private colleges in the U.S.—banded together to form the Coalition for Access, Affordability and Success. Their aim: to increase economic and racial diversity on campus, and to make the application process more relevant and less frenzied. (This is a good place to note that there are almost 3,000 degree-granting schools in the U.S., the vast majority of which accept more students than they reject.)

This month, the coalition expects to launch a set of free online tools designed to help lower-income students plan for college earlier and narrow the gap with their more privileged peers. And starting in the fall, students applying to a coalition school will have the option to use a proprietary application process that will encourage earlier preparation and creative materials like personal videos, digital portfolios, even comic strips. For many of these schools, it might eventually replace the Common Application, though individual members will tailor the new application to their specific needs. "For us, it is about keeping up with the student population and the way they live their lives," says Leigh Weisenburger, dean of admissions at Bates College, a coalition member. "They do it in technology."

Coalition schools say their planning tools—which include a "virtual locker" that students can start using in ninth grade—will broaden applicant pools and cut down on the hysteria of the current admissions process, transforming it from an 18-month sprint into a saner four-year jog. And they believe their new application will help them better identify talented students who may not shine on a standard application.

The plan has no shortage of skeptics. As anyone who has applied to college in recent decades—or perhaps worse, guided a child through the process—can imagine, turning admissions into a four-year event is just as likely to add stress as to reduce it. Nor is it clear how the digital focus and longer timeline will benefit underprivileged kids. Many of the students the digital locker is designed to aid are juggling school on top of a job and family obligations. For them, building a digital portfolio could add yet another burden. And relying on technology creates its own problems: How can students without their own laptops compete against those who have video-editing software at home?

The great fear—which even some coalition supporters share—is that this new effort will only exacerbate the admissions frenzy. For kids who already fret over every other aspect of their application, why would a digital portfolio be any different? "What you don't want is highly produced TED talks from privileged kids," says Clayton Spencer, president of Bates, which is waiting until 2017 to adopt the new application. "All of these things are potential expanders of access, and all of them have to be regarded critically."

CHAPMAN: JESSE BURKE FOR TIME

Hannah Chapman used a video portfolio to show that she was more than "an ordinary 17-year-old, middle-class white girl"

THE COLLEGE-ADMISSION PROCESS as we know it today—overworked guidance counselors, well-paid consultants, stressed-out kids and freaked-out parents—began to take shape about 40 years ago. Faced with a drop in enrollment after the last of the baby boomers graduated, schools ramped up their outreach, expanding admissions staffs, visiting more high schools and producing slick marketing materials. In 1991, a Justice Department probe effectively ended the practice of fixed financial-aid awards, encouraging schools to compete to offer families the best price. In 1998, the Common Application, a standardized form accepted by more than 600 colleges, went online. Suddenly, kids could apply to as many as 20 schools with the click of a button.

4.7%

PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS ADMITTED TO STANFORD'S CLASS OF 2020

America's colleges were deluged with applications. At the most selective schools, there can be tens of thousands of applicants for every spot. This year, Stanford received 43,997 applications and admitted just 4.7%. Seeking a leg up, parents who could afford it enrolled their children in costly test prep, hired private coaches to polish personal essays and pushed their kids to sign up for the most ambitious course load and hundreds of hours of volunteer work. For many, the point of high school has become getting into a top college. And some are beginning the process even earlier.

"When we started, we'd get the occasional eighth- or ninth-grader. Now it is almost every day that we get questions [like] 'What should my kid do in eighth grade to get into Harvard?'" says Andrew Belasco, CEO of the admissions consultancy College Transitions. "It is madness."

While these privileged achievers vie for a place at an elite school, their less-fortunate peers have been largely left behind. A study published in 2012 by the National Bureau of Economic Research found that more than half of high-achieving low-income students in the class of 2008—those with at least an A-minus average, SAT and ACT scores in the top 10% and family incomes below $41,472—did not apply to a single highly selective college. By this measure, there are as many as 18,000 low-income kids in America who could get into a top school but didn't apply to even one.

Members of the coalition think their new approach will help get more of those students through the door. "It's amazing to me how many

underserved students don't understand when we are reviewing them it is going to reflect their whole four years," says James Nondorf, dean of admissions at the University of Chicago. The locker, he says, will allow "students to think of applying to college as something that isn't just 'Oh my God, what do I do' senior year, but building a record throughout high school where those accomplishments are fresh in their mind. When they try to apply, maybe then it will be less stressful."

There is evidence that a digital portfolio can benefit underresourced students. Goucher, a small private liberal-arts college near Baltimore that is not in the coalition, recently started allowing kids to submit a short video and two pieces of high school work instead of a traditional application. To avoid favoring kids with fancier technology, the school doesn't award points for production value. "We know that some students are writing their college essay on their phone," says Goucher's president, José Antonio Bowen. "When an advantaged kid with a computer is writing 60 drafts while a poor kid is writing it on a phone with his thumbs, that's not a fair fight. A video is a fairer fight."

Goucher says the change has worked. Of the 64 students who used the video application in 2014, 40% were African American, compared with 18% in the regular pool. These students also performed better: more video applicants earned a GPA above 3.0 in their first year than students who used the standard application.

But the ease of the Goucher model is that it allows videos instead of a regular application, not on top of it. "We talk about the enormous stress of the upper-middle-class student who is trying to get in a thousand volunteer hours on top of their schoolwork. We don't talk about the stress of somebody who is just trying to get their recommendations while also taking care of their mom, brothers and sisters," says Bowen. "The point of the video application is to ask for less pieces of paper."

The hitch is that lots of paper will still be required by coalition schools, where the digital portfolio is expected to supplement the traditional package of essays, recommendations, scores and transcripts. To some admissions experts, this will only add to the already-heavy load. "It's a horrible idea," says Belasco, the consultant. "Instead of just crafting applications, we'll now be crafting portfolios, and it will just be more hours to spend on applying." It may be good for his business, he adds, "but it is bad for most students."

While the digital locker is meant as an outreach tool, it is not yet clear how kids will know about it, especially in schools without counselors to help them put it together. "Who is going to review it?" asks Ryan Mitchell, a college counselor at Newark Charter School in Delaware. "College counselors are already overburdened. So many schools are underfunded when it comes to counseling."

> "Our admissions officers are looking for something that is authentic and imperfect."
>
> —AMY GUTMANN, *PRESIDENT, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA*

These questions have fueled criticism of the coalition's motives. The group requires members to meet certain affordability benchmarks and have a 70% graduation rate over six years—something most U.S. schools can't do. To critics like Leon Botstein, president of Bard College, the coalition is an attempt to create an exclusive pipeline to the next generation of students, especially as the nation becomes more diverse. "If you look at demographics, the number of white upper-middle-class kids who do well is declining. The number of Latino and Hispanic kids is rising. So the question of diversity is not only a moral question, it is a question of having enrollment," says Botstein. "They think they can mask their naked self-interest through virtue. It allows them to recruit earlier. This is a market-cornering enterprise."

ONE THING EVERYONE can agree on is the need to restore sanity to the process. "You see the bleary eyes, and you wonder for these students: When is it going to stop?" says Mitchell, the counselor.

A recent effort to do that is "Turning the Tide," a call-to-arms report from researchers at Harvard and the Education Conservancy that encourages kids to work or volunteer for a sustained period of time rather than take short service trips to exotic countries, to commit to a few extracurricular activities instead of dabbling in dozens and to understand that character is as important as achievement. "The college-admissions process is a very powerful messaging system," says Richard Weissbourd, the report's lead author. "I don't think it changes until incentives change, until colleges start saying in a loud way, 'This is what we value.'"

Dozens of schools have voiced support for the recommendations, though it will take far more to undo decades of conditioning. But at least colleges are moving in the right direction. The new buzzwords out of admissions offices are terms like *genuine, caring, creative.* And many college gatekeepers believe that this new array of digital applications will allow more of those qualities to come through.

"It works when it is all authentic," says Diane Anci, dean of admissions at Kenyon College. Still, she understands why kids try to come off as something they're not. "We've made it crazy enough that that is all they can do, but it is really impressive when kids can buck all of that and hold their own."

It worked for Hannah Chapman. About a month after sending Elon her ZeeMee video, the school welcomed her to the class of 2020. She will start this fall. ◻

ADVERTISEMENT

The Queen's Thai Silk Fashion Show & Exhibition

April 13
United Nations HQ, NYC

Queen Sirikit: A Champion of Silk & Sustainability

Thailand's livelihoods Queen helped pioneer sustainable development by preserving and promoting traditional arts and culture.

84TH BIRTHDAY YEAR OF QUEEN SIRIKIT

Where others only saw poverty and hopelessness, Her Majesty Queen Sirikit saw beauty and potential. The year was 1955, and the young Queen was traveling with her husband King Bhumibol Adulyadej to the poor northeast of Thailand to learn firsthand about the living conditions of the people. She noticed that even the poorest of women working in the muddy rice fields were wearing skirts of a homespun tie-dyed fabric called mudmee. It was silk.

A few years later, as she and the King were delivering relief packages to flood victims in the area, she noticed more and more women in Western clothes. Fewer were wearing mudmee. The art of weaving was disappearing. At the same time, King Bhumibol was concerned that their relief packages would only help the villagers for a short time. If they truly wanted to help their people improve the lives, they would need to find solutions that would be sustainable.

Queen Sirikit had an idea. If she could convince the villagers to weave the silk for selling, she could help them preserve a Thai indigenous art while also providing the women with a livelihood that could raise their families' incomes and make them more resilient in the face of floods and droughts.

Queen Sirikit recruited local silk weavers who could teach others the skill. She bought up all the silk the villagers spun until the market could grow and the industry take off on its own. Queen Sirikit used this model in other parts of Thailand, supporting villagers to weave their own local silks and cottons. She also applied it to other indigenous arts, such as crafting the metal alloy known as niello into jewelry and decorative items.

To promote Thai arts and culture, and to create an even larger market, she worked with designers to create ensembles from Thai silks and fabrics that she wore herself at home and abroad to the critical acclaim of global fashion writers.

In 1976, Queen Sirikit established SUPPORT, the Foundation for the Promotion of Supplementary Occupations and Techniques. SUPPORT furthers the preservation and resurgence of Thai arts, teaches disadvantaged villagers the skills to become artisans, empowers women and the poor, and creates sustainable livelihoods.

"When Queen Sirikit began her work, you couldn't find a silk shop in northeastern Thailand," said Paothong Thongchua, a fashion designer and expert on silk. "Today, silk shops are everywhere, and so many of their owners got their start through SUPPORT."

Queen Sirikit's visionary approach is perfectly in line with at least six of the Sustainable Development Goals recently adopted by the United Nations such as eradicating poverty and hunger, achieving gender equality, creating good jobs and economic growth, promoting sustainable communities and fostering partnerships with stakeholders.

Today, as Queen Sirikit approaches her 84th birthday on August 12, Thai silk is renowned the world over and has been used by designers such as Pierre Balmain and Giorgio Armani. To celebrate Queen Sirikit's pioneering work on livelihoods and sustainable development, an exhibition showcasing Thai silk, nielloware and other arts is being held at United Nations headquarters in New York City, complete with a fashion show of stunning Thai silk designs.

A guardian of arts and culture. An advocate for women. A champion of sustainability. Queen Sirikit remains, most of all, the embodiment of love and support among the people of Thailand.

Time Off

'HIS EYES, LIKE THOSE IN A PAUL KLEE PAINTING, ARE INTENSE, A LITTLE DERANGED, BUT HUNGRY FOR LIFE.' —PAGE 57

With a friend played by Jeffrey Wright, Washington's Hill takes on the Hill in Washington

HBO

TELEVISION

Kerry Washington makes Anita Hill into a very human subject

By Daniel D'Addario

SUPREME COURT VACANCIES HAVE become harbingers of great drama. Just ask Merrick Garland, whose recent nomination to the court by President Obama has incited a real-life cliffhanger—one that has more to do with ideas about Obama's legitimacy than it does with Garland.

The plot of HBO's new movie *Confirmation* (April 16) blooms toxically outward in much the same way. In 1991, George H.W. Bush's nomination of Clarence Thomas—and Anita Hill's testimony about his alleged sexual harassment of her—gave rise to a saga about gender and race, one that swallowed up the real people at its center.

The nomination was vexed even before it was announced. The movie, which opens with footage of the Senate rejecting Robert Bork in 1987, is haunted by the "borking" of Ronald Reagan's pick. After that vilification of a judicial nominee on partisan lines, the Thomas pick was a must-win for Republicans, while Democrats were emboldened to scrutinize him. But the Senate Democrats who ran the Thomas hearings were hardly equipped to handle Hill's explosive claims.

As Hill, Kerry Washington has none of the bravado she brings to *Scandal;* she's made her cadence slightly halting and awkward, an effective way to signal that Hill is the opposite of a public person. The impact of Washington's particular skill—her ability to take umbrage—has been blunted a bit on *Scandal,* where she's had to deliver five seasons of speeches constantly rising in emotional intensity. Here, it's electric.

Or it will be for viewers on Hill's

side. The movie spares no narrative detail that might convince you she was wronged. As played by Wendell Pierce, Thomas is a void, a man whose calm exterior and apparent disengagement seem to hide deep reservoirs of rage. At the center of this circus, Greg Kinnear delivers a lacerating performance as then Senator Joseph Biden. He plays the hearings' ringmaster as feckless and motivated by pure politics. He's unable to grasp the gravity of Hill's accusations—the all-male, all-white membership of the Judiciary Committee must be persuaded by female members of Congress to hear her out—or how making them would change her life. "If I wasn't the chair of this thing, I'd be your lawyer myself," Biden tells Hill, all hollow charm and bonhomie.

With its time frame compressed to the period immediately surrounding the hearings, *Confirmation* feels constrained. We're trapped, as both Hill and Thomas were, inside a political labyrinth. Thomas' decision to ignore the Senate vote about his future seems like the right one. Why engage with a system designed to humiliate? Thomas feels wronged too. *Confirmation* shares with FX's *The People v. O.J. Simpson* a probing curiosity about an era that is just starting to fall into history, and an unwillingness to flatly choose heroes and villains. The movie treats Hill's claims as legitimate but is also sympathetic to Thomas' suggestion that he's being punished for his race. This case, like the Simpson trial, was one in which race and gender collided in the ugliest possible way.

The only part of the otherwise sophisticated *Confirmation* that rings false is its closing chyron, which indicates that Hill's case emboldened victims of harassment to speak out and factored into 1992's congressional "year of the woman," in which female candidates won more seats than ever before. Both are true, but given the level of distrust with which the public treats accusers in high-profile cases and the fact that narrow year-of-the-woman-style victories still make news, it's clear those gains hardly resolved the struggle.

Hill may have motivated change, but she was also a living, breathing confirmation that women's stories were too often dismissed. Onscreen, Hill tells the Senate that she only wants its members to "fully consider this information … and take this seriously." Decades later, a medium newly inspired by complex stories of social justice has accepted her challenge. ◻

ON HIS VIEW OF THE CASE

'The uncertainty of what happened was much more complex to play. I have my idea about whether it happened or not, but that's something I keep to myself.'

QUICK TALK

Wendell Pierce

Best known for playing Detective Bunk on The Wire, *Pierce stars in* Confirmation *as Clarence Thomas, who was accused of sexually harassing Anita Hill.*

How did you relate to Thomas? While our political views are very different, we have so much in common: African-American families in the South for five generations coming up through slavery and impoverishment, putting an emphasis on education. And it's really a personal story: a man at the pinnacle of his career, and an incident from his past, whether perceived or real, comes back to haunt him. I just put myself in that position—what a person goes through when their integrity is challenged.

Did you reach out to him? Through back channels. I haven't been able to get a response. I'm sure it's difficult for him to revisit. I just want to meet the man and talk about what we have in common more than politics.

How do you think race factored into the hearings? In the African-American community, it didn't matter whether you believed him or not—it was painful to see two prominent African Americans at odds in a public forum.

There have been a few conservatives who have accused the film of being liberal propaganda. They haven't seen the film. It's knee-jerk and unfounded. Even if they're wrong, it's in their best interest to come out against the film. It happened to me last year when I was in *Selma*. When people revisit history, they want to be revisionist.

You've been vocal about the lack of diversity in studio films. It has to be called out. When studios say, "I don't know where to find black filmmakers," there are film festivals for people of color every year. Hundreds of black films come out and don't get any distribution from studios. They can't claim ignorance.

—ELIANA DOCKTERMAN

Bogdan plays a gang member trapped in escalating chaos

REVIEW

The stylish *Last Panthers* ponders who stole Europe

IT BEGINS WITH AN ERRANT BULLET: PULLING OFF A diamond heist in Marseilles, a member of a Serbian gang accidentally shoots and kills a child. It's a mistake a master crook should never make. But like everything else depicted in *The Last Panthers*, the art of crime is in decline.

The real subject of SundanceTV's six-episode series is the infinitely tangled state of contemporary Europe, where the ideal of borderlessness—underscored by the series' British-French co-production and frequent use of Serbian dialogue—is being exploited. Samantha Morton plays an insurance investigator seeking to redress the jeweler's losses, but she hates the assignment. We learn that her resistance to working cases pertaining to the Balkans traces back to her experience in the region as a U.N. employee.

The Europe of *The Last Panthers* is haunted by the fact that once distant problems have moved in next door. In the first episode, Morton's boss, played by John Hurt, uses an unprintable term to describe Marseilles's cosmopolitanism. But by the end of the series, he realizes that the barbarians are on both sides of the gates: "We're all barbarians, aren't we?"

Bemused Hurt and quiet, searching Morton do terrifically with the material, which shares with its theme song, David Bowie's "Blackstar," a sense of remove and oddity. During the heist, for instance, the gangsters—led by Goran Bogdan's bitter, experienced Milan and based on the real-life Pink Panthers gang—pour pink paint on a jewelry-store worker to mark their territory. It's a nice bit of visual flair on a dark palette, and an unambiguous statement for criminals who've never been given a meaningful way to otherwise make their mark. —D.D.

THE LAST PANTHERS *airs Wednesdays at 10 p.m. E.T. on SundanceTV*

THE BEST FOR *LAST*
Morton and Hurt play insurance-claims specialists; both actors are two-time Oscar nominees

PIERCE: GETTY IMAGES; THE LAST PANTHERS: STUDIOCANAL (3); SING STREET: THE WEINSTEIN CO.

TIME PICKS

TELEVISION
Married *Daily Show* alumni Jason Jones and Samantha Bee teamed up to create ***The Detour,*** a comedy series based on their family's history of hapless vacations, premiering April 11 on TBS.

MUSIC
Newcomer **Kiiara**'s first EP, *Low Kii Savage,* recorded while she worked a day job at a hardware store, flits between R&B and electronica as her ethereal voice hovers over danceworthy beats.

BOOKS
Downton Abbey creator Julian Fellowes' new serialized novel, ***Belgravia,*** is a tech-driven homage to Charles Dickens, delivering weekly cliffhanger-laden episodes to an app.

MOVIES
Writer-director John Carney's follow-up to musical dramas *Once* and *Begin Again,* the similarly charming ***Sing Street*** (April 15), follows a budding rock band in 1980s Dublin.

PROFILE

Reinventing the action flick with *Hardcore Henry*

By Joel Stein

ILYA NAISHULLER, THE LEAD SINGER of the Russian punk band Biting Elbows, wanted a music video that would win his songs international attention. So in 2011 he directed one himself, strapping a GoPro camera onto a stuntman's head to create a stylized, Tarantino-esque, live-action first-person-shooter game—hands reaching in front of the camera to pick up weapons and pop off sunglassed, black-suited enemies.

The 2013 video for the song "Bad Motherf-cker" got more than 32 million hits on YouTube and a Facebook message from Timur Bekmambetov, the director of *Night Watch* and *Wanted,* who wanted to finance a film-length version. "I said, 'No. It's a terrible idea. It's a gimmick,'" remembers Naishuller, 30. A few days later he reconsidered: "It clicked that this is a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to be a pioneer." Especially since directing was what he really wanted to do, far more than being a rock star.

Naishuller had been devouring movies since he was 5, when his father ran an illegal business in the Soviet Union selling VHS tapes. In 2007 he landed a job assisting director Roland Joffé when he shot two movies in Russia. Naishuller had also written a script for a slow-burner spy movie he was hoping to send to actor Tim Roth. Still, he wasn't sure a first-person perspective would work for a feature film, so he demanded a clause in his director's contract in case he couldn't pull it off. "We said if he made it [only to] 60 minutes, then he should put the helmet camera on his head and run around the block for the next 30 minutes," says Bekmambetov. "But I knew there would be enough material."

In the 95-minute film, which opens on April 8, the main character is a bionic soldier who doesn't talk (his voice chip is about to be inserted when he is attacked) with no backstory (his memory has been erased). Those were two rules Naishuller adopted after watching 1947's *Lady in the Lake,* the awkward first-person Raymond Chandler movie in which Robert Montgomery talks but is hardly ever seen, unless the room has a mirror. In Naishuller's movie, there isn't need for talk. *Hardcore Henry* begins with running and shooting, builds to faster running and shooting, and ends with a massive amount of running and shooting. It's all captured without standard film cameras; instead, GoPros were attached to a very uncomfortable mask worn by the 12 stuntmen who play Henry at various points in the film. Their double duty as cameramen is impressive, since they were shooting reaction shots of the other actors while, for instance, they were on fire and jumping out of a bus or driving a motorcycle onto a moving van that was having its front blown off so the bike could ride out the front. They wound up with a cross between a film, a video game, a theme-park ride and a virtual-reality experience. Watching the film can cause motion sickness.

STUNTMEN ARE THE STARS
A dozen different stuntmen wore GoPro cameras attached to masks, shooting the entire film from the perspective of Henry, a bionic soldier trying to get back to his wife

"Half the time I'm saying, 'Dude, can you just slow it down so I can follow it?'" says Sharlto Copley, who plays Henry's sidekick Jimmy. "It's like the early days of music videos." When Copley *(District 9, Maleficent),* 42, told people he had taken the role, no one his age or older approved. "People were like, 'Why would people want to watch people play a video game?' One of the biggest YouTube channels is people watching people play video games. If you ask that question, you don't understand this whole media culture that's coming."

Filming began in Moscow without "an absolutely definite script," Copley says. "The focus was on the action set pieces." When Copley left to shoot *Chappie,* Naishuller simply killed off the Jimmy character, in keeping with his scorched-earth solutions to the many problems that cropped up while making a movie that would likely be impossible in the U.S., since we have safety laws. At one point, Copley was sure he had killed a stuntman when he pushed him off a moving car onto a highway that hadn't been blocked off to traffic. Somehow, the only two injuries the stuntman sustained were a chipped tooth and a cut that needed five stitches.

Naishuller hopes to direct his slow, third-person, nonaction spy script next, especially now that he knows Tim Roth after getting him to play a small part in *Hardcore Henry.* He's also hoping other directors will employ his new techniques. "There were words and letters in this language already, and I think we wrote a really good book," he says. "Someone is going to come along and write a much better book using the lessons learned from what we did." They might even use a script. ◻

HARDCORE HENRY: STX ENTERTAINMENT (2); THE BOSS: UNIVERSAL; DEMOLITION: FOX SEARCHLIGHT PICTURES

REVIEW

The Boss demotes McCarthy

FOR A COMEDIAN WHO comes on like gangbusters, Melissa McCarthy has had a rocky time finding the right vehicle for her unfiltered raucousness and zingy timing. Last year's *Spy* came closest: McCarthy's co-stars—Rose Byrne, Jude Law and Jason Statham—helped tease out unexpected grace notes from her audacity in overdrive.

But *The Boss,* directed by her husband Ben Falcone, who also helmed *Tammy,* isn't boss at all. McCarthy plays brassy, big-business tycoon Michelle Darnell, who, after serving time in prison for insider trading, moves in with her former assistant (Kristen Bell) and her young daughter (Ella Anderson). The plot involves setting girls up in the brownie-selling biz to earn money for college. Crude gags mingle with squishy, underdeveloped messages about family and belonging and empowerment. And while self-abasement is part of the comedian's toolbox, there's something depressing about watching as a chortling Michelle airs her unmentionable area while spraying herself with self-tanner. McCarthy deserves better than this. She can aim higher.

—STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

The movie's gags undermine McCarthy's zingy appeal

As a grieving husband, Gyllenhaal tears down to rebuild

REVIEW

Gyllenhaal does all the heavy lifting in *Demolition*

SOME ACTORS' FACES ARE JUST MADE TO PLAY GRIEVING husbands—or a grieving anyone—and Jake Gyllenhaal's is one of them. In *Demolition,* directed by Jean-Marc Vallée *(Dallas Buyers Club, Wild),* Gyllenhaal plays distracted investment banker Davis Mitchell, who comes unglued when his wife dies in a car crash. At the hospital, just as he gets the news, he tries to buy peanut M&M's from a vending machine. The packet gets caught in the chrome spiral that, under normal circumstances, should work with supreme efficiency, a frisson of everything that's about to go wrong with *him.*

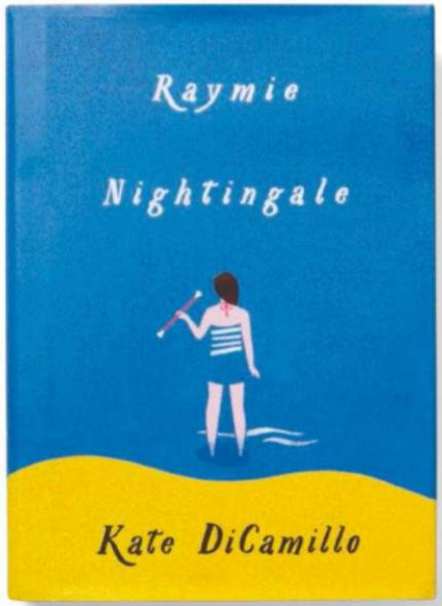
Like an obsessive nutjob—which, temporarily, he just may be—he dashes off a letter to the vending company, though his litany of suffering goes far beyond the basic request for a refund. Customer-service rep and single mom Karen Moreno (a calming and cogent Naomi Watts) responds sympathetically, though it takes a while before she can truly get through to him: first, Davis must go through a period of literally destroying the evidence of the life he shared with his late partner, even as he reckons with all the ways in which he failed her.

Vallée, working from a script by Bryan Sipe, packs in too many symbols and potent signifiers—some are harmless, others are literally sledgehammer heavy. The movie doesn't need all that when it's got Gyllenhaal. Davis was in the car during the accident that killed his wife, but he emerged with barely a scratch. All of his damage is on the inside, and Gyllenhaal expresses that in controlled doses. He shows grief as a kind of force field, discombobulating until you get used to dealing with its unpredictable pulses of energy. His eyes, like those staring out from a Paul Klee painting, are intense, a little deranged, but hungry for life. —S.Z.

> 'I believe deeply in the unconscious of a story. It has to have something underneath.'
>
> JAKE GYLLENHAAL, on how he chooses roles, speaking at SXSW in March

CHILDREN'S BOOKS

The stars in our faults



WHEN TRAGEDY HAPPENS, some people wallow. Others make plans. Ten-year-old Raymie Clarke falls in the latter category, so after her father runs off with a dental hygienist, she plots a solution: win the 1975 Little Miss Central Florida Tire contest, get her picture in the paper and bring him back. To do all that, she must learn how to twirl a baton.

Kate DiCamillo has made a career of inventing young characters whose soulfulness rivals that of the adults in their lives, from her iconic first novel for young readers, *Because of Winn-Dixie* (2000), to the Newbery-winning *Flora & Ulysses* (2013). *Raymie Nightingale* too reminds adults about the profound depth of childhood feelings. As with Katherine Paterson's *Bridge to Terabithia* or Wilson Rawls' *Where the Red Fern Grows*, some readers may require tissues.

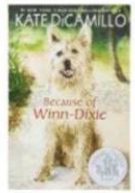
Raymie's classmates in baton-twirling lessons are Beverly Tapinski, whose father is also MIA and whose mother leaves bruises on her face, and Louisiana Elefante, an orphan whose grandmother can only afford to feed her canned tuna fish. Beverly has little use for the Little Miss Central Florida Tire competition—in fact, she'd like to sabotage it—but Louisiana wants to take home the crown and the $1,975 that comes with it. Together with Raymie, they become the Three Rancheros, stumbling into mischief around town and beginning to see past their own problems.

On top of her father's desertion, Raymie struggles with the death of her kind, elderly next-door neighbor. In the wake of Mrs. Borkowski's passing, feeling misunderstood in her grief, Raymie has a poignant realization: "It occurred to her that nobody really knew what anybody else was upset about, and that seemed like a terrible thing." These interpersonal troubles, and the effort we all make to connect, are the heart of the novel. As Raymie grows into a kind of young Florence Nightingale (hence the nickname in the title) she learns that helping others can be a way to help herself.

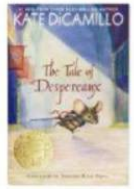
> 'Have you ever in your life come to realize … absolutely everything depends on you?'
>
> FROM *RAYMIE NIGHTINGALE*

DiCamillo, who has just ended her tenure as the National Ambassador for Young People's Literature, understands that children can handle the tough stuff in fiction—after all, they have to handle problems like divorce, grief, abuse and poverty in real life. And a book like this can help. As Raymie's neighbor told her before dying, "If you were in a hole that was deep enough and if it was daylight and you looked up at the sky from the very deep hole, you could see stars even though it was the middle of the day." For children looking up from their own deep holes, the Three Rancheros could be those stars. —SARAH BEGLEY

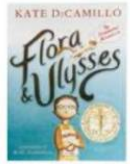
THE BACKLIST
DiCamillo's earlier works earned popular and critical acclaim



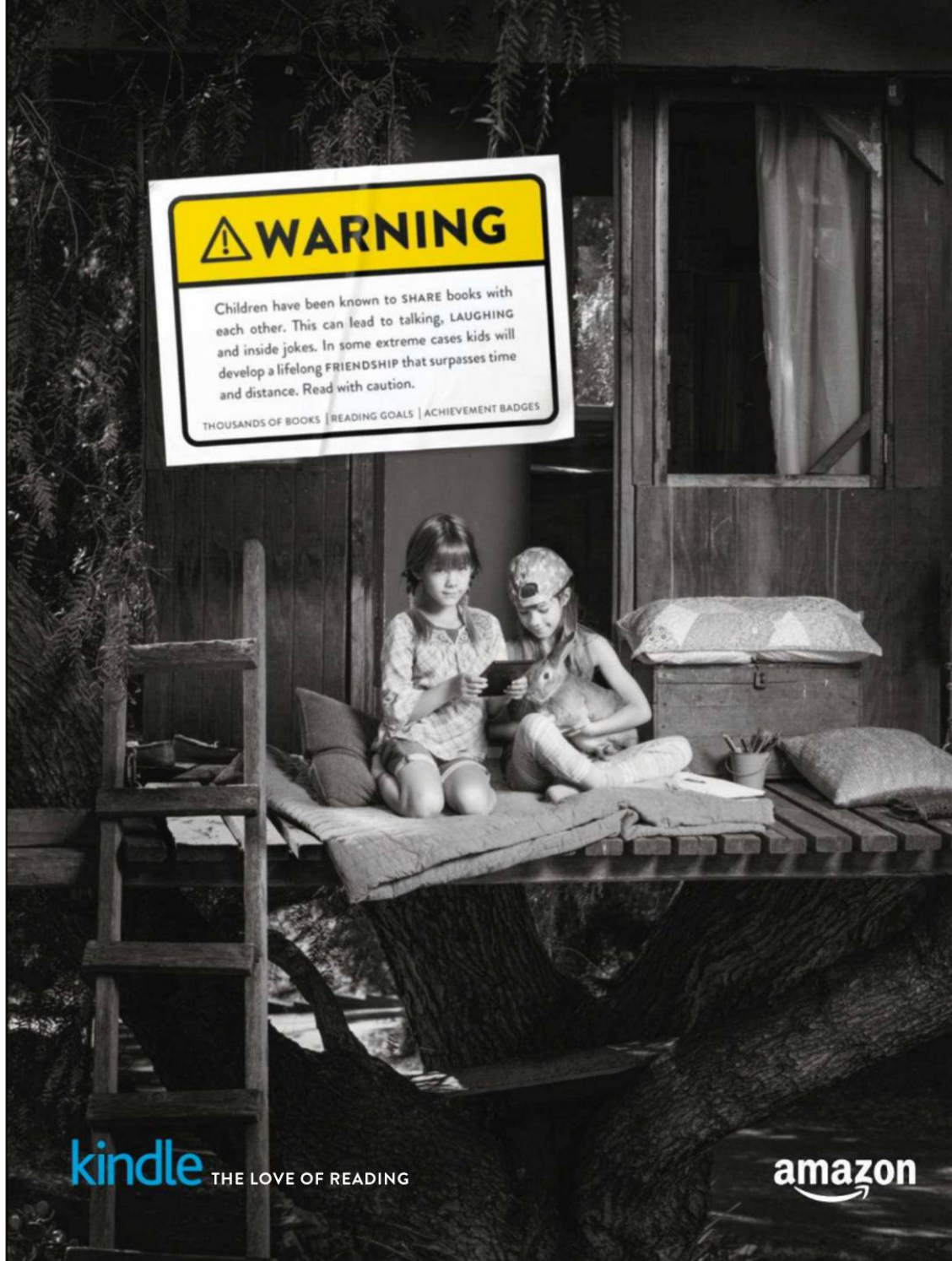
Because of Winn-Dixie
DiCamillo made her way into young readers' hearts with her 2000 novel about a preacher's daughter and the stray dog she brings home.



The Tale of Despereaux
She won her first Newbery Medal for her 2003 fairy tale about a mouse on a mission to save the lonely Princess Pea from a rat and a servant girl.



Flora & Ulysses
DiCamillo won a second Newbery for her 2013 story of Flora, "a natural-born cynic," and Ulysses, her superhero squirrel friend.


WARNING
Children have been known to SHARE books with each other. This can lead to talking, LAUGHING and inside jokes. In some extreme cases kids will develop a lifelong FRIENDSHIP that surpasses time and distance. Read with caution.
THOUSANDS OF BOOKS | READING GOALS | ACHIEVEMENT BADGES
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Get schooled on veggie prep

WE PAY MORE FOR CARROTS WHEN THEY'RE STRIPPED AND HACKED INTO OBLONG NUGGETS THAN WHEN they're fresh from the ground. But while most Americans view preparing produce as a tedious chore—and a barrier to cooking veggie-heavy meals—chef Cara Mangini, who comes from a family of meat butchers, sees it as a pleasure. In her new book *The Vegetable Butcher,* Mangini shares the knife skills needed to break down a whole garden of vegetables efficiently enough for a weeknight dinner. "Once you get the hang of these techniques, you don't have to worry about the time it's going to take," Mangini says. "If we want to push vegetables closer to the center of our plate, it's important we make preparing them second nature." —MANDY OAKLANDER

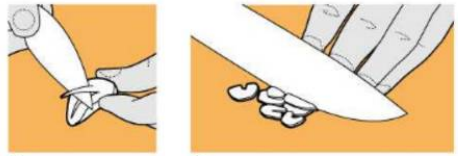
LEARN TO SEED TOMATOES

1. Many recipes call for seeded tomatoes to **avoid extra liquid in finished dishes.** First, cut out the core.

2. Next, **quarter the tomato** on a cutting board, cut side up so that the juices don't run everywhere.

3. Carefully **run your index finger inside the cavity** to remove the seeds and their jelly-like surroundings.

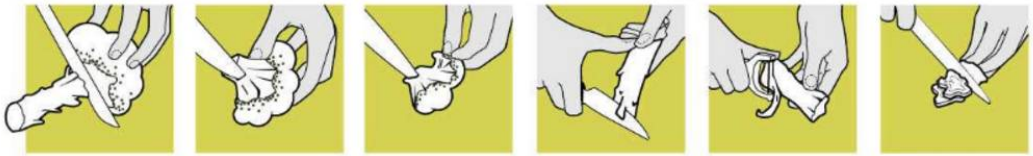
PREPARE GARLIC PROPERLY



1. Once you've peeled and halved a garlic clove, use **a paring knife to remove the germ.** That part can taste acrid when cooked.

2. Now, using a chef's knife, **slice the garlic cloves** first lengthwise and then crosswise to mince them.

EAT BROCCOLI TWO WAYS



1. Broccoli is a two-for-one vegetable when you **know how to prep it properly.**

2. Remove the florets from the stalk and **gently pry them apart with a knife.**

3. Using a paring knife, slice them into **smaller pieces.**

4. Using the same knife, **slice the thick outer skin** from the stalk.

5. Continue to peel it gently to reveal the **tender and juicy flesh** beneath.

6. Slice the peeled stalk into **small medallions** and prepare as desired.

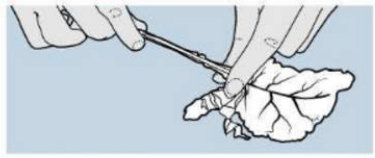
DICE AN ONION PERFECTLY

1. Halve the onion vertically, then **slide your knife through it horizontally** to create layers of onion slices.

2. Make cuts **up to but not through** the end of the onion so it stays intact.

3. Next, turn the onion and **cut vertically, bisecting the previous cuts,** to produce a perfect dice.

STRIP KALE LEAVES



1. The easiest way to remove kale's tough central vein is to **strip it off with your fingers.** Pinch the stem in one hand, and with the other pull your fingers up the leaf, stripping off the leaves.

ILLUSTRATIONS BY LOU TREETEN FOR TIME

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Your friend in coffee,

Johan

Based on a January 2016 national taste test of coffee drinkers conducted by an independent third party comparing Gevalia House Blend and Starbucks House Blend.

Google Maps and Yelp released My Burrito Finder, an app that **pinpoints the closest place** that will satisfy your burrito craving.

Katy Perry joined Dolly Parton to sing a **medley of "9 to 5" and "Jolene"** at the Academy of Country Music Awards.

The Ben & Jerry's founders **handed out free samples** of a Bernie Sanders–inspired ice cream flavor in New York City.

Twitter struck a $10 million deal to **stream 10 NFL games** (for free) later this year.

Kylo and Rey have both **surged in popularity as baby names** since the release of *Star Wars: The Force Awakens.*

Adele **took a selfie with a look-alike fan** during a concert in Birmingham, England.

LOVE IT
LEAVE IT

***TIME*'S WEEKLY TAKE ON WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE**

Rhode Island yanked its latest tourism video after viewers noticed that **it contained footage from Iceland.**

U.S. ticket sales for *Batman v Superman* **dropped an unusually steep 69%** in its second weekend (though it remained the No. 1 movie).

Lululemon **angered Beyoncé fans** by suggesting (via Twitter) that her new activewear line, Ivy Park, was stealing its style.

The Walking Dead's Season 6 finale—which ended with a frustrating cliffhanger involving new character Negan *(right)*—was **roundly dismissed as the show's "worst episode ever."**

A Connecticut woman **called 911 after a pizza shop messed up her order.** The dispatcher replied:

'That's not a police matter, ma'am.'

Google pulled Gmail's Mic Drop button—an April Fools' tool that attached a *Minions* GIF to emails—after **people mistakenly used it during professional correspondence.**

MY BURRITO FINDER: BERNIE'S YEARNING: FOUR NINE DESIGN; REY: DISNEY; SUPERMAN: WARNER BROS.; LULULEMON: TWITTER; BEYONCÉ/IVY PARK: THE WALKING DEAD: AMC; MINIONS: ICELAND: YOUTUBE; ADELE, DOLLY PARTON AND PERRY, KYLO REN: BASKET: PIZZA: GETTY IMAGES

By Nolan Feeney, Megan McCluskey and Ashley Ross

How family therapy makes us older and wiser and more or less the same

By Susanna Schrobsdorff

THE FIRST THING I NOTICED IN THE FAMILY THERAPIST'S office was the giant painting of four fat pigeons sitting on the edge of a kitchen table. The birds are so disproportionately big, you wonder how they got into the house in the first place. Everyone who comes to see the therapist must be tempted to make some remark about the painting. The canvas is at least five feet tall, and the pigeons are all looking at you in that sideways bird way. The therapist says one of his clients has to sit on the other side of the room so as not to be distracted by the pigeons over his head. I get it. City people have complicated feelings about wildlife.

When I suggested that the painting was a kind of Rorschach test, our kindly therapist nodded as if that was fascinating information … about me. All weird therapist-office art is a stealthy psychological icebreaker. ("Did you not notice the purple sculpture of a stallion in the corner? Well, that says something about you, doesn't it?") One of my daughters made sure to say how much she liked the painting, while the other noted that the birds looked nervous. Interesting.

I should backtrack here and explain that after nearly two decades of being parents, 14 years of marriage and almost 10 years of unmarriage, my ex-husband and I decided to take our two teenage daughters to family therapy. I won't get into why. Let's say it involves some typical teenage things, both serious and not. And before you accuse me of mining my daughters for material (guilty), know that I asked them what I should write my column about this month, and both said family therapy. This is because they want other teenagers to know that in a therapist's office, the youngs can air their many grievances and the olds are not allowed to cut them off with "When you have your own house, you can make the rules. Until then, my house, my rules."

YOU PROBABLY CAN'T BELIEVE that parents still say those sorts of things. Unless you have a teenager. So let me say to you mothers and fathers of tender, nonteenage persons: Someday, you will hear words like these coming out of your mouth. It'll be one of those desperate moments that drive even non-neurotic parents into a pit of embarrassing clichés—and then possibly to the therapist's office.

When you are sitting in front of a stranger and his notepad, you inevitably wonder what this person sees as he watches all of you lined up on the sofa. What seems obvious to him that you've totally missed about the way you interact? Looking around, I could see that the four of us still move like a family even after all these years in two houses. There is a familiarity, a resemblance in the way we wear our clothes. And there are the children's faces, their noses, their foreheads, the way they cross their legs, which link us and always will.

While looking at the floor, which you do a lot of in a group-therapy situation (with or without pigeons), I noticed that my younger daughter chose new, blindingly white sneakers with a retro ankle strap for the occasion. We'd watched the first *Alien* movie a few days before, and I like to think she picked them in honor of Sigourney Weaver's famous warrior Reeboks. The film came out in 1979, when I was about my daughter's age and embroiled in some of the same high school battles. I was surprised to see that Weaver's Ellen Ripley holds up well, according to Gen Z. She's a feminist heroine with no gloss, no enhancements, not even a bra, just a jumpsuit and those kick-ass sneakers, all of which are back in vogue. Somehow everything has changed about adolescence and the way kids connect, and yet nothing has. It still boils down to someone saying, "My house, my rules," and someone else saying, "You just don't get it."

MAYBE THAT WAS THE POINT in bringing us all together in one room. It reminds us that we have more in common than not. But soon, in-person therapy will seem clunky. We have video therapy, after all. You can choose a therapist from a vast national database, like online dating, and have sessions via app where all you see of each other is a face in a square. I can't decide if this is good or bad. The therapist can't see your fidgety feet, and you can't see his pigeon paintings. There are even ads for text-only therapy, which eliminates the visuals entirely: "You are busy. You are stressed. You worry all the time. You barely have time for friends or family, much less yourself. Now, we have a solution to this problem: Talkspace." Sounds fantastic and impossible. If only there really were an app to manage being human. Besides, I'd be tempted to text the text therapist during live family therapy. Maybe family sessions will be conducted entirely in emojis. Is there one for "You're driving me insane, I love you"? ◻

ILLUSTRATION BY JULIETTE BORDA FOR TIME

Anita Hill The lawyer whose testimony against Clarence Thomas 25 years ago is the subject of the new film *Confirmation* talks women's rights and politics

What is the legacy of the hearing? A conversation which had been private became public, and you see the legacy of that now with college women protesting sexual harassment and assault. But the hearing also influenced how employers would react to sexual harassment, how universities would react to sexual harassment. Unfortunately, the Senate, instead of reflecting the best practices that had been developed at that point, lapsed into combativeness.

How did you feel when Justice Thomas called the hearing a "high-tech lynching"? It was very painful, personally, because what I felt was being said was that his experience as an African-American man mattered more to the race than my experience as an African-American woman. On an intellectual level, I felt as though it dismissed all African-American women and our racial experience. Let me just say, African-American women have been lynched. And maybe even more important, the whole history of sexual violence and injustices that have been heaped upon African-American women was missing from his narrative. I think it was deliberately excluded.

Did you expect more help from Democrats, like then Senate Judiciary Committee chairman Joe Biden? I expected a fair process. If you file a sexual-harassment complaint in an office, what you find in the best instances is a neutral investigative process. That never happened. I did expect that the chair would be fair and gather the testimony from the relevant witnesses, like the three women who were not called in to testify, like the experts on sexual harassment who could have helped inform the committee about how the problem manifests itself.

Have you spoken to Vice President Biden since the hearing? No.

How would the hearing be different if it happened today? I think what we have today—the ability to talk about the issues in public—is really an outcome of the hearing. So it's really difficult to say what would be different.

What do you make of Justice Thomas breaking his long silence on the Supreme Court? I am not objective when it comes to Clarence Thomas, and I shouldn't even pretend that I can be.

You teach courses on gender equality at Brandeis University. What impact do you think a Hillary Clinton election win would have? I think we need a female President. We know from research that girls—and boys—respond to role models, and to have women as models of leadership is significant to [children's] development. But we also have to have someone who really understands the experiences of women, at work and in the home, in terms of policies that need to be developed to address questions of equality—why we need equal pay or access to child care or family leave.

And what about Donald Trump, who has made blatantly sexist remarks? The President sets the standard for public discourse, for how young people in particular imagine leadership. The things that come from Donald Trump's mouth about women—that sends a horrible message.

What do you think of the way the media treated Monica Lewinsky? Even if it was consensual, that power imbalance was damaging. It sent a message to young women in the workplace about how to "get ahead."

Now Clinton is being asked questions about Lewinsky. Is that valid? It's not idle gossip. It has consequences, in terms of Hillary's record. But unfortunately, the narrative pits women against each other, and that is sadly typical in the media. —ELIANA DOCKTERMAN

'Do I really want to bring this up again? Yes. We have a whole generation of people who weren't even born then. It will help them to understand how we got to where we are.'

TODD WILLIAMSON—GETTY IMAGES

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